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3d Round of Vienna Conventional Arms Talks Starts

LD0709124289 Moscow TASS in English 1226 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna September 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

The third round of talks on conventional arms in Europe began at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna today. It is being attended by diplomats and military experts from 23 countries of the Warsaw Treaty Pact and NATO. The current round is expected to further advance the process of cutting arms and armed forces in Europe.

The two previous rounds, which passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, produced positive results and revealed a considerable degree of accord and similarity of some basic positions. The sides managed to clear up their conceptual approaches and draw their position closer on several issues. The two previous rounds also brought out more clearly the range of existing differences.

This opinion is being shared by many political observers. Representatives of some of the delegations believe that the talks may end already next year, according to the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE. Such forecasts do not sound very bold, if the governments of the 23 countries participants display good will.

The Soviet delegation is led by ambassador at large Oleg Grinevskiy who told a news conference here that the main task now was to develop the basic progress by specific agreements and resolve many technical issues: in short to elaborate and agree on a treaty in an unusually short period for disarmament talks. NATO suggested that it should be done in 6-12 months. The Soviet Union has accepted the challenge. The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies are ready to conclude such a treaty in 1990, although it will not be easy, Grinevskiy said.

'Much Hope' Pinned on Talks

LD0609221889 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna September 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

Talks on conventional armed forces in Europe are entering the third round in the Austrian capital on Thursday. Much hope for further progress in reductions in armed forces and armaments in Europe is pinned on these talks.

The two previous rounds, held in a constructive and businesslike spirit, were marked by positive results. They revealed a considerable degree of agreement and similarity of a number of basic stands of the 23 participating Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Many political observers and newspapers share this view. The PROFIL magazine says that chances to achieve genuine disarmament have never been so good since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce the eastern military alliance's advantage in conventional armaments through asymmetric reductions.

The newspaper DIE PRESSE quotes some representatives of delegations to the talks as saying that the talks may be completed next year. If the governments of the 23 countries display goodwill, this forecast would not seem too bold.

Soviet chief negotiator Oleg Grinevskiy told TASS that the results of the first two rounds gave ground for satisfaction.

"The talks clarified the conceptual approaches of the sides, drew their positions closer together on a number of issues, and specified more distinctly problems on which there still remain serious differences," he said.

Grinevskiy said the Soviet delegation will make every effort to ensure constructive work at the talks and their progress.

The third session of the Vienna talks on confidence and security building measures is opening on Friday.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 6 Sep

Remarks on Thatcher Visit

LD0609130189 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—During a meeting scheduled for September 23, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher are expected to discuss a wide range of international issues and bilateral relations, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told the briefing today.

Answering a question about the initiator of the meeting, Perfilyev said that the meeting will take place in Moscow, where Thatcher will stop over on her way from Tokyo to London. As a rule, the initiative in such cases comes from guests.

Notes 'Positive Appraisal' of Bush Statement

LD0609133189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1257 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep (TASS)—Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, today spoke of the positive appraisal in the Soviet Union of the statement by U.S. President George Bush, who yesterday in an interview to the American Television company, PBS, expressed the hope that there will be no return to the days of the "cold war" and wished success to Soviet perestroyka.

Commenting on the U.S. President's statement, he added at today's briefing in Moscow, that it "creates a favorable background for the coming meeting on 22-23 September between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker." The Foreign Ministry spokesman advocated that the principle of constructive continuity be filled with specific content and new accords on all spheres of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. "We hope that that the coming meeting of the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state will be held in this spirit," Vadim Perfilyev declared.

Announces Gorbachev To Visit Iran

LD0609140189 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—A Soviet spokesman noted the fruitful nature of the development of Soviet-Iranian relations.

The Soviet Union fully shares the recent statement by Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister 'Ali Mohammad Besharati on the intensive development of these relations, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a news briefing here today.

He stressed that agreements reached at recent talks between Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani gave a fresh impetus to the development of Soviet-Iranian relations on the path of good neighbourliness and cooperation, to the achievement of greater understanding and trust.

The Soviet spokesman also said that during his visit to the USSR in June this year 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev an invitation to visit the Islamic Republic of Iran on an official visit. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit has not been determined yet, Perfilyev said.

U.S. Troop Offer Arouses 'Concern'

LD0609142389 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information directorate, stressed at a briefing here today the need of coordinating the efforts of many states to effectively combat narcobusiness. He commented on the started implementation of the U.S. plan to render emergency aid to Colombia for combatting narcosyndicates. American military equipment and transport facilities are already arriving in the country along the U.S. specialists.

Calling attention to the pronouncements coming from official U.S. circles on America's readiness to move troops into Colombia, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that such intentions could not but arouse concern, the more so since the Colombian leadership had expressed the undesirability of calling in foreign troops to combat narcomafia.

It is one thing to pool the efforts of different states against narcobusiness and quite another to send troops to the country under the pretext of helping to wipe out this evil, he said. Such an action, Vadim Perfilyev stressed, would be tantamount to impermissible interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. It is the view of the Soviet side that struggle against drug trafficking should be waged in full conformity with principles of international law, on the basis of strengthening the mechanisms of international cooperation.

Denies Soviet Air Strike in Afghanistan

LD0609154289 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has described as "ridiculous and provocative" the Afghan armed opposition's claims that its loss of the village of Zebak, Badakhshan Province, was due to an air raid carried out from Soviet territory at President Najibullah's request.

Addressing newsmen at a briefing here today, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that the mujahidin either failed to invent something more plausible to justify their losses, or had problems with orientation.

It was the Afghan Government's air and artillery forces that pounded at the rebel positions in the Zebak area.

Perfilyev considered the situation in Afghanistan in connection with the latest reports from that country and Pakistan about alleged military successes of the opposition quoting mujahidin sources. As an example he cited a report aired by the Voice of America radio station on September 5 and 6.

Newsmen attending the briefing were presented with information obtained from sources in Kabul, saying that the situation near Khowst has stabilised. It is this region that attracts most Western comment.

The extremists' attempts to launch an offensive are thwarted by rocket, artillery and bomb strikes by the Afghan Air Force. The situation in the region is controlled by the Afghan Army, Perfilyev said.

Cites Inaccuracies in Reports on Afghanistan

LD0609191289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Statement by First Deputy Head of the Information Administration of the Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev during the 6 September briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center—recorded]

[Text] In the past few days, evidently in connection with the 9th Nonaligned Movement summit taking place in Belgrade, reports of military sucesses of the mujahidin have started coming in from Afghanistan and Pakistan citing opposition sources. Such sucesses were reported, for instance, yesterday and today by "Voice of America."

We got in touch with Kabul. We were told that the situation in the area of Khowst had been stabilized. Attempts by extremists to organize an offensive were being thwarted by missile, artillery, and low-altitude bombing raids by the government troops' aircraft. Two posts, previously seized by the enemy 18 and 22 km northwest of Khowst, had been returned to the government troops. Reinforcements, food, and ammunition for government troops are being regularly moved into Khowst. The situation in the Khowst area, according to information from Afghan sources, is being controlled by the command of the Afghan Army.

The Afghanistan Armed Forces are escorting a large column of trucks and military equipment from Herat and Shindand to Kandahar. The opposition made several attempts to attack the column en route but were repulsed by the security forces. The column's losses included: one burned out tank, a burned out gas tanker, two damaged tanks and one damaged combat vehicle, and the looting of two vehicles with food, flour, and other national economy freight. For comparison, we add that "Voice of America" today reports that the losses of that column were 90 units of equipment. So, it is a tenfold error. These are the sort of inaccuracies, unfortunately, which are not just quantitative but which try to give the information consumer a qualitatively different idea of what is happening in Afghanistan.

The Kabul-Jalalabad road is functioning normally. For some time the extremists were shelling the town of Kalat and were preparing to storm it. The extremist forces were resolutely repulsed by government troops' air and artillery strikes. The attempt of the opposition to make out that the losses in the vilage of Zibak in Badakhshan Province were due to air raids from USSR territory at the request of President Najibullah is really ridiculous and provocative. One wonders whether the mujahidin simply could not think up anything more plausible to justify their position or else they just don't know whether they're coming or going. The strikes against opposition gangs in the area of Zibak were mounted by the air force and artillery of the government troops of Afghanistan.

The Hayraton-Kabul road continues to function. Yesterday 181 vehicles delivered via this road more than 1,000 tons of food and fuel to Kabul.

Reportage on London IPU Session

Group Holds London News Conference

LD0509225889 Moscow TASS in English 2237 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] London September 6 TASS—A news conference of the Soviet delegation to the jubilee session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, which is now underway in London, was held on Monday [4 September] at the Soviet Embassy in London.

Chairman of the Council of the Union of the Soviet Parliament Yevgeny Primakov, who heads the Soviet parliamentary group replied to correspondents' numerous questions covering an extensive range of problems: What perspectives are there for contacts between Soviet and British parliamentarians? What hampers further arms reductions? What is the significance of nationalist developments in some Soviet republics?

However, reporters mostly pressed for comments on the forthcoming working meeting between President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during the latter's brief stop-over in Moscow on September 23 en route from Tokyo to London.

Primakov noted that summit meetings have proved a positive influence not only on bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain but also on the world developments.

Speaking about the Soviet-British inter-parliamentary links, Primakov stressed that Soviet law-makers favoured the development of contacts at all levels—between committees, commissions and parliamentary groups.

He told reporters that, at the invitation of British parliamentarians, a delegation of the Supreme Soviet would visit London at the end of 1989.

Primakov pointed out two of the many obstacles on the road toward disarmament. One is the on-going attempts in the West to fill the so-called vacuum, formed as a result of the reduction of armaments, by other upgraded weapons, which stimulates a qualitative arms race even when conventional arms are reduced.

The second obstacle is rooted in the United States' stance excluding naval forces from the process of arms reduction. "I do not think that the naval forces should be viewed as a holy cow," the head of the Soviet delegation said. "This can slow down the disarmament process".

Primakov noted that the developments in the Baltic republics and the situations in Moldavia and Nagorno-Karabakh were closely watched by local journalists who often seek to present problems arising in the Soviet Union as effects of perestroyka reforms underway in the country.

Primakov rejected these allegations. Ethnic problems, he stressed, are very profound. "We are naturally concerned over them," he said.

But the issues in question have not been generated by perestroyka, he said. They have been accumulated or suppressed over a long period of time and have only surfaced in conditions of glasnost and perestroyka.

"We are for liquidating past deformations, Primakov stated. But the process must not lead to the infringement on the rights of ethnic minorities in the republics," he said.

USSR Delegate, Thatcher Address IPU

LD0609200289 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] London September 6 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Dmitriy Voskoboinikov:

The British Prime Minister Margaret thatcher described the work of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR as a triumph of policy of perestroyka and glasnost. Addressing the 82nd Conference of the Interparliamentary Union here she stressed that in her view the event was a "cornerstone" for the development of soviet democracy. Thatcher said she looked forward with great satisfaction to a working meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow late in September.

In her speech the British prime minister touched on a broad range of issues. She dwelt on the situation in countries of Eastern Europe, including the changes in Poland and Hungary, and then on the situation in countries of Asia and latin America. The prime minister said Britain fully supported the Colombian Government's struggle against narcobusiness and expressed the hope that the conference would find time to examine methods of struggle with drug traffickers and drug addiction. She also dwelt at length on questions of environmental protection. As she said, parliamentarians united within the framework of the Interparliamentary Union could make a weighty contribution to resolving ecological problems.

The conference has completed the debate on the topic of "peaceful uses of space". Seventeen delegations, including those from Great Britain, Hungary, Canada, the Soviet Union, France and other countries tabled draft resolutions on this important problem. The drafts note the need to develop international cooperation to keep outer space peaceful. A special drafting commission has been charged with preparing in the coming days a joint draft of the final resolution of the forum.

Today the parliamentarians embarked on discussing what is perhaps one of the most difficult problems faced by mankind—population and food and the problem of indebtedness" [quotation mark as received].

As Eduard Sauma, director-general of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and honorary guest of the forum, stressed addressing the conference, the acute food problems may affect at least 64 countries by the year 2000. He pointed out that a drastic solution to the problem of providing food to the population could be achieved only by settling another problem, that of huge indebtedness of the developing nations which prevented them from properly organising the production of the necessary food products and taking effective steps to preserve environment. During the debate which followed, the delegations of Yugoslavia, the United States, Great Britain and other countries expressed their views on the subject at hand. The parliamentarians listened with much attention to the speech by Yu. Belenkov, people's deputy of the USSR. He reminded delegates of the USSR's readiness to establish a prolonged, up to a hundred years, moratorium on repayment by the least developed countries of their debts and in some cases to write the debts off altogether. The Soviet Union, Belenkov said, proposes that the world community reduce the debt repayments from the developing counties or announce a drastic rescheduling of the developing countries' debts, supports the UNCTAD [UN Conference on Trade and Development—FBIS] proposal to reduce indebtedness to private banks, favours government support for market regulation mechanisms, including the establishment of a specialised international institution to buy out debts at a discount. One way to solve the developing countries' problems may be to implement the "disarmament for development" principle, i.e. development on a multilateral basis of mechanisms for the transfer of part of the means released through reductions in military spending to be used for the development of Third World countries, Belenkov said.

'Brezhnev Doctrine' Reviewed, Denied

LD0309014389 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 2 Sep 89

["Moscow Viewpoint by Valentin Zorin:"]

[Text] In our conversations in the United States or here, my American counterparts often make mention of what they term as the Brezhnev doctrine. They claim that in keeping with it the Soviet Union may use military force at its own discretion in relations with other socialist countries. I'd like to say from the start that the Soviet Union has no such doctrine. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that repeatedly in his statements. He underlined on many occasions that the use of force within the alliance of states or (?in relation to them) is an impermissible thing.

If we look back into the past we'll see that the so-called Brezhnev doctrine had never been proclaimed officially. There exists no document that would contain provisions ascribed to this doctrine. Incidentally, in contrast to the United States, this country has never been in the habit of proclaiming foreign policy principles in the form of doctrines. However, if we recall some political realities of the past we should admit that there were several instances when Soviet troops were present on the territories of certain countries. To take a decision of this kind was difficult for the Soviet Union, even in those times. But things then were not that simple as the West often tries to picture them.

Today we ourselves look at our past from the position of new political thinking. It makes us see what happened to us in the past in a new light and draw lessons, both for today and for tomorrow. The recurrence of that past in today's foreign policy of the Soviet Union is impossible [as heard].

By the way, some interesting pronouncements on this account are made by Western politicians as well. President Bush, for one, declared at a news conference after his recent visit to Hungary that if the Soviet Union instead of withdrawing its troops from that country tried to toughen its control there, there would be no changes that were taking place in Hungary presently.

It's regretful that Washington considers the principle of noninterference in other countries' affairs to be obligatory for all but the United States itself. Here's one example to illustrate: The withdrawal of the Soviet contingent from Afghanistan paved the way for the attainment of a peace settlement in that country, yet the mujahidin, supported by the United States, preferred to go ahead with the war. THE WASHINGTON POST believes that as a chief source of support to the mujahidin the United States should bear the responsibility for that war. The paper asks the administration what it does to prevent the situation when its policy results in deaths of innocent civilians. The United States' policy of threat towards Panama is another case in point. Now I'm not inclined to recall the events of the past, such as the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile by the American Central Intelligence Agency or the invasion of Grenada, I have today's events in mind which gives me every reason to ask: Isn't it time for the United States to turn its mind to a new political thinking?

Moscow Aviation Symposium Previewed

LD3108125389 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 31 Aug 89

["U.S. Aviation Administration for Development of Cooperation"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington August 31 TASS—By TASS correspondent Alexey Berezhkov:

The establishment of a united global system of airways is a task of the next century, but it is necessary now to settle the questions of international cooperation in this field, Joseph Delbalzo, acting director on developments of the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), told TASS. He will head an American delegation which will visit Moscow to take part in the international symposium "aviation of the 21st Century: problems and solutions" which will open in the Soviet capital on September 5.

The meeting sponsored by the FAA and the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation will also be attended by representatives of the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), delegations from Britain, France, Japan, Australia and some other countries as well as representatives of private companies.

The present symposium, Delbalzo said, is a continuation of the process of discussing tasks of civil aviation's future, which was initiated by a similar meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts state, last September. It will enable specialists from various countries to exchange opinions and hammer out a common viewpoint on a direction for the development of international cooperation in the sphere of aviation.

World nations cannot permit such a situation in the 21st century when various states have systems of air traffic control, incompatible with one another, said the head of the American delegation. It is very important to reach agreement on their standardisation. Computers from various countries should "be able to speak with one another" and electronic systems of planes crossing state borders should be compatible. It is necessary that methods of control over air traffic should be the same. World nations should achieve all this, working jointly at ICAO, noted the acting director.

The aviation symposium which will open in Moscow, is of special interest for the U.S. delegation, Delbalzo said, since it provides an opportunity for discussing a real (in our opinion) prospect for standardisation of the aviation systems of the two countries.

According to the head of the American delegation, it is feasible to use jointly the satellite systems of glonass and gps (global positioning system) being developed by the USSR and the United States in air traffic control, for instance, in navigation. Feasibility of such interaction may be of great importance for developing a new generation of sytems of flight and navigation control, Delbalzo went on to say.

World aviation only begins to make the first steps in this direction, whose aim is to build up a safer and more effective global system of air traffic control, Delbalzo said in conclusion.

United States & Canada

Reportage, Reaction to Bush's Speech on Drugs

Speech Outlines War on Drugs

PM0609154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "News Items on 6 September"]

[Text] A program to combat the drugs mafia has been set out by President G. Bush in a television appeal to Americans. The administration intends to set aside $7.9 billion for an all-out fight against drug addiction and drug trafficking in the upcoming fiscal year. A considerable proportion of the money will go to the governments of Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru, which have declared war on the drug cartels. The White House plans to allocate more than $4 billion to them next year and $2 billion in the following 5 years. In the United States itself it is proposed to double appropriations for state police authorities and to allocate considerable funds for the construction of jails and the creation of special courts to hear cases involving underground drug traffickers. The new program also envisages an increase of $321 million in federal appropriations for the treatment of drug addicts.

Antidrug Program Described

PM0709091189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Panorama of International Events" prepared by L. Koryavin in Washington and M. Kozhukhov in Moscow: "The Fight Against the 'Cocaine Octopus' Continues"]

[Text] On Tuesday evening U.S. President G. Bush delivered an address to the nation setting forth a large-scale plan to combat the spread of drugs. Colombia's "cocaine barons" have responded to this with a new outbreak of violence.

The U.S. Administration has formulated a national strategy to combat the veritable disaster that drug addiction constitutes for the United States, the President reported, showing television viewers a program comprising a weighty 150-page booklet.

The national strategy provides for an extensive plan of measures and will require the expenditure of $8 billion in fiscal 1990. This will go, above all, to fund efforts to extend the struggle against the drug business both inside the United States and abroad, where production of the "white death" is concentrated.

It is necessary, the document points out, to strengthen the organs of law and order for a more effective fight against criminals and to assist the local authorities, particularly in building new jails. It poses the question of strengthening the border zones in order to close the "drugs pipeline" from Central and Latin American countries. Some $300 million will be allocated for military aid to Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru for the purpose of combating the drugs syndicate that is flourishing in those countries. In addition to this sum, the United States has already granted Colombia $65 million to implement today's emergency measures.

The national strategy also includes a more extensive program to treat drug addiction, propaganda of the fight against it in schools, colleges, and universities, and extensive preventive activity.

It is reported that the Congress actively supports the administration's new strategy for the fight against drug addiction. Moreover, many people in the Capitol consider that $8 billion is inadequate for this purpose and are ready to support larger appropriations.

Meanwhile, a new outbreak of ruthless killings has been the response of the "cocaine barons" in Colombia to the Bush plan. A few hours before the start of the transmission of the U.S. President's address Angela Piedra de Garrero, the wife of a colonel in the Colombian Army's rear service, was shot point-blank at the entrance to a supermarket in downtown Bogota with bursts from a submachinegun fired from a car that had braked to a halt. This was already the second crime of this sort. A few minutes after G. Bush had concluded his address, explosions destroyed two bank buildings in Medellin—capital of the "cocaine mafia."

ABC TV reports that an average of 10 people die every day in Medellin at the hands of killers. The number of bombs that have exploded in Colombian cities over the past 2 weeks is already approaching 30.

The situation remains uneasy in Bogota too: Public buildings, newspaper editorial offices, and television and radio stations are controlled by the military, although these measures do not always prove effective.

The fight against the Colombian "cocaine mafia" promises to be long and hard: The country has virtually become its hostage. According to some estimates, the gross annual income of the drug businessmen in this country totals $6 billion. The underground cartel of drug producers has become a part of Colombian society, CBS TV points out. The leaders of this cartel own legitimate enterprises and even soccer teams, their influence extends to the army and the police, and they are supported by hundreds of thousands of people for whom cocaine production has become their sole livelihood.

Widespread corruption is confirmed by facts of recent days: A general who led an anti-drug group in Medellin embracing 4,000 people has been dismissed on a charge of ties with the mafia—the third general to be dismissed this year.

Agency reports attest, however, that the fight against the drugs mafia cannot be confined just to Colombian territory. Interpol Secretary General R. Kendl [name as transliterated] declared recently that this organization is opening missions in contiguous countries with a view to catching the "cocaine barons." It is quite obvious, he pointed out, that drugs from Colombia are being sent to European countries as well as the United States. It is also reported that border control measures are being stepped up in Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, and other countries. It is a question, in UPI's opinion, of "the greatest international crisis of the century."

"The United States most of all is suffering from the drug invasion," Congressman Charles Rangel said in an interview with our correspondent in Washington. "However, it is necessary to coordinate the efforts of many countries to conquer the drug evil. At my first meeting with colleagues from the USSR Supreme Soviet I will propose making a joint effort, and I am ready to share the programs which we are adopting in the just war declared on drugs."

Will the new plan made public by President Bush be effective enough in this just war? International commentators following the progress of the "cocaine" battles refrain from affirmative replies, tending toward the conclusion that the fight against the "20th-century evil" must be waged above all in the economic sphere, because, in the final analysis, backwardness, unemployment, and the poverty of millions of Latin Americans remain the chief progenitors of the "white death."

Antidrug Plan Discussed

LD0609140289 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Station observer Spartak Alekseyev commentary]

[Excerpts] Speaking on television on Tuesday President George Bush announced his strategic plan of fighting drug addiction and narcobusiness, which he described as the main threat to national security in the United States. The administration intends to ask Congress for some $8 billion in the new fiscal year to carry out the plan. At the same time large-scale measures are to be taken against the narcomafia outside the United States, especially in the countries of South America.

Our observer, Spartak Alekseyev, writes that the smuggling of drugs, which has spread all over the world, is believed to be one of the biggest crimes of the 20th century and the struggle against narcomafia is beginning to look like large-scale military operations. [passage omitted] President Bush expressed firm belief in the victory over narcobusiness but, as American newspapers say, previous experience, including that of George Bush himself, doesn't give rise to much optimism. [passage omitted]

But the bulwark for the narcomafia is the free enterprise and free market institutions. True, the Democratic majority leader in the U.S. House of Representatives, Richard Gephardt, called the narcobusiness a shady side, but even so enrichment goes on fantastically fast. The annual turnover of the narcocapital on the American continent amounts just to $500 billion. The war against narcomafia will, of course, demand tremendous and long-time efforts in many different fields. Both the government and the public should have a share in this. International cooperation is also required. The secret paths of narcobusiness have not bypassed the Soviet Union, either. Like the other countries, it's also alarmed and expresses readiness to extend cooperation in struggling against this biggest crime of the century.

Commentary on U.S.-Soviet Diplomatic Cooperation

PM0609120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "No Replies Yet"]

[Text] Washington, 5 Sep—With President Bush's return to Washington following his vacation, reports have begun to issue from the White House that he has brought with him plans for "more intensive" diplomatic cooperation with the Soviet Union, including new U.S. initiatives in arms control. It is pointed out that these plans were drawn up during a series of meetings between Bush and his national security advisers, who traveled to his family estate at Kennebunkport, Maine.

What do administration officials, who, as always, did not wish to "give their names," convey to the public? It has to be said that their messages could instill optimism. In particular, it is pointed out that the President and his entourage consider it important and even urgent to tackle the resolution of the chief issues in Soviet-U.S. relations. At the White House and among high-ranking staffers involved in formulating the political line there exist sentiments in favor of making attempts to clear "some of the obstacles" and to speed up the talks on reducing strategic offensive arms. A new U.S. proposal is being drawn up for the reduction of chemical and biological weapons. In general, President Bush and Secretary of State Baker are hoping "for more direct contacts with Gorbachev" in a number of spheres.

Well, even in such a fragmentary form the program appears perfectly constructive. But questions are appropriate too. Is there not behind these "leaks" merely a decision to begin in good time the propaganda backup for the U.S. positions at the talks between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Baker, due to take place in Wyoming 22-23 September? Is this not tactical regard for past errors, when Bush and his administration were accused here of procrastinating over building upon the positive foundations already created in relations with the USSR—which elicited a very undesirable response for them? Perhaps they have now decided to try an outwardly active approach, while not changing the policy?

Questions do not arise in a vacuum. More than enough words have already been spoken about a "desire," an "intention," and "determination," but there has been a clear lack of concrete action. There are no replies yet.

They have only to be reminded that the Soviet Union, as has been stated repeatedly at the most authoritative level, is ready for its part for a joint search with the United States for solutions to the knots of bilateral and international contradictions.

B-2 Pursues 'Phantom' of Military Superiority

PM0709080589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 89 Second Edition p 6

[Gennadiy Vasilev commentary: "Catching Up With the Phantom"]

[Excerpts] The B-2 Stealth. The select audience invited to the preview was somewhat intrigued when they saw the new top-secret strategic bomber. The configuration of the aircraft and its rounded, smooth shape were striking, as was the absence of any projecting parts. The cost of the new aircraft was a cause for concern—$600 million each. "Stealth," which is made from special materials, is designed to penetrate hostile territory undetected by radar.

The invisible aircraft, the phantom aircraft. I wrote this and thought: These words encapsulate the image! Is this wonder-bomber, like other expensive Pentagon "toys," not the embodiment of a pursuit of an elusive phantom? The phantom of military superiority. Technological superiority, a breakthrough in the military sphere, and "superweapons" which would make it possible to dictate conditions "from a position of strength" have always intoxicated the minds of the American military and politicians. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union is honorably fulfilling the decision adopted by our leadership on the unilateral reduction of our armed forces—over a period of 2 years the number of soldiers and officers will be reduced by 500,000 men, and arms are being reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 fighter aircraft. The USSR is trying to reach agreements as quickly as possible at the talks on the reduction of strategic, nuclear, and conventional weapons, the ending of nuclear tests, and the elimination of chemical weapons. This policy is not a passing fad or a concession to someone or other, but the result of a profound understanding of the realities of our age. We proceed from the premise that it is impossible to win the arms race, just like nuclear war itself, that there are limits to force, that security can only be mutual. Our armed forces' orientation toward reasonable and reliable defense sufficiency meets these postulates.

I recently read in the newspaper THE LOS ANGELES TIMES: "The Bush administration is planning to quietly introduce radical changes, without any public debate, into basic U.S. strategy on nuclear war with the Soviet Union, including the creation of such powerful new weapons that they could penetrate the deepest underground bunkers and 'decapitate' the entire Soviet leadership." The article says that Pentagon's "bold" plans are provoking resolute condemnation among many specialists, who justly point out that any effort to implement them will destabilize the strategic balance in the world and intensify the risk of nuclear war. But criticism aside, the plans, which seem insane, are being developed all the same. And great efforts on the part of the peaceful public and rational political figures, whose numbers are now increasing in the West too, are needed so that a new circuit in the race toward the abyss does not become a gloomy reality.

USIA's Gelb Holds Talks at Supreme Soviet

LD0609162689 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The role and place of intellectuals in the modern world, the development of cooperation in science and culture between the USSR and the USA figured prominently at today's conversation between Yuriy Ryzhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture and Upbringing, and Bruce Gelb, director of the United States Information Agency (USIA). Gelb is staying in Moscow to attend the exhibition "Design U.S.A."

The agency concerns itself with radio broadcasting, satellite television, publishing and students' exchanges, the USIA director said. All these spheres provide a good basis for cooperation and mutual trust. When USIA sends to the USSR such an exhibition as "Design U.S.A.", the guides, mainly young people, communicate with their Soviet coevals, learn better each other and easily find common language.

Gelb shared impressions from his stay in the USSR, meetings with soviet representatives, whose views could be summed up in a few words: hope, optimism and realism. Americans are ready to share their experience in the economy and in the field of parliamentary work. But the foreign experience cannot be used to all 100 per cent because it may not work.

The problem of financing in the sphere of science, culture and education evoked much interest.

"Our main goal is to overcome the leftover principle of financing," Ryzhov said.

Expressing his view on the subject, Gelb said there are financially "insatiable" fields, notably the military sphere marked by continuing mistrust between the two countries. It is much easier for people engaged in cultural and information exchanges to overcome this mistrust.

Ryzhov noted that for its part the USSR attaches great significance to developing Soviet-U.S. cooperation, as is evidenced by a great interest shown by Muscovites to the new American exhibition. "The Soviet public opinion is well prepared for establishing trust between the USSR and the USA."

Evacuation of U.S. Embassy in Beirut Reported

*LD0609183289 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT
6 Sep 89*

[Lebanon—U.S. Embassy Staff Evacuated—headline]

[Text] Washington September 6 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

The United States evacuated the staff of its embassy in Beirut on Wednesday [6 September]. U.S. combat helicopters airlifted Ambassador John Mccarthy and 29 American staff to Cyprus.

Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said in Washington today that the evacuation was a temporary measure, that it does not represent a diminution of U.S. efforts to search for ways to settle the situation in the country and does not mean that the United States is leaving Lebanon.

Fitzwater said that the decision to evacuate the embassy staff had been taken by President George Bush after consultations with State Secretary James Baker, Defence Secretary Dick Cheney and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft on Tuesday.

Bush approved the decision after a series of demonstrations outside the U.S. Embassy, staged by Lebanesee Christians, who support General Michel 'Awn.

Fitzwater said that the United States would return to Lebanon when the situation permits.

He added that the U.S. would continue consultations with friendly Arab countries and European allies on ways to achieve a ceasefire, end the political blockade and start a reconciliation process in Lebanon.

China

PRC's Zhu Liang Departs for Moscow Visit

*LD0709113989 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT
7 Sep 89*

[Text] Beijing September 7 TASS—By TASS correspondents Marat Abulkhatin and Gennadiy Krivosheyev:

Zhu Liang, head of the department of international links of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, left Beijing for Moscow today.

In a short interview with the news agency TASS at Beijing Shoudu Airport, he stressed that the development of relations between the two countries meets the interests of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, Chinese and Soviet communists and promotes stronger peace and cooperation in the world.

This visit by Zhu Liang is the first made by a Chinese party delegation to the USSR after a long interval.

Lukyanov To Lead Delegation to PRC 12 Sep

*LD0709091689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0840 GMT 7 Sep 89*

[Text] Beijing, 7 Sep (TASS)—At the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, led by A. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will arrive in Beijing on a friendly visit on 12 September.

This was announced by the PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman at a briefing here today for Chinese and foreign journalists.

Soviet-Chinese Joint Venture Set Up in Yalta

*OW0709130589 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" feature]

[Text] Yalta is a summer resort city located in the Cremea peninsula on the Black Sea. Nanhai, a Soviet-Chinese joint venture, has started operation here. The main business of this joint venture is to help build sanatoriums and hotels in Yalta and provide medical and other services.

This enterprise, set up by the Yalta Municipal People's Soviet and the Hainan Provincial Economic Association of China, has planned to build a Chinese Medical Clinic to provide medical services to Soviet people and people of other nationalities spending their vacation in Yalta. It also has plans to open a Chinese restaurant and other social and cultural facilities. The Chinese company will also provide Yalta goods of daily use, electronic computers, medicines, (?intravenous) injectors, and medical equipment; and Yalta will reciprocate with locally produced commodities and equipment, including crane ships; hovercraft; metallurgical, welding, and geological equipment; grape harvesters; as well as automatic food production lines.

China To Use Electricity Generated in USSR

*OW0709130989 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0200 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] The August issue of SOVETSKIY SOYUZ carries pictures of the Heilongjiang River, the border river flowing between the USSR and China. On one side of the river is the Soviet city, Blagoveshchensk, and on the other side is the Chinese city of Heihe. These two cities face each other across the river.

To a great extent, ties between the two cities reflect the ties between our two great countries. Today the USSR and China face similar tasks in their reform endeavor. Soviet people are now engaged in perestroyka, and Chinese people are also carrying out a thoroughgoing economic reform.

On the road of reform, our two countries can help each other in many areas, especially in our border areas. Our cooperation in utilizing the water resources of the Heilongjiang River, the Ussuri River, and the Argun' River has been revived. Builders will soon start erecting a high-voltage transmission line in the border areas. China will be able to use electricity generated in the USSR through this transmission line by the end of this year.

Khabarovsk Official on Agricultural Cooperation

OW0709022489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Station reporter (Kovton) recently interviewed Danilyuk, chairman of the Executive Council of Khabarovsk Kray and member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and asked him to talk about cooperation in the field of agriculture between Khabarovsk Kray and the People's Republic of China.

[Danilyuk—in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] Danilyuk says that experts have called the border areas a risky agricultural zone. Therefore, it is a very complicated task to guarantee agricultural products for the laboring people in those areas. However, we are convinced that it is possible to solve this problem. We have drafted a food production plan for the border areas. According to the plan, we shall develop collective and state farms and establish enterprises in the border areas to process sideline products. We also attach importance to developing people's side-line occupations. At the same time, we have carefully watched our Chinese neighbors' experience in agricultural production. We have established a number of joint ventures with the Chinese for processing agricultural products. Currently, Chinese citizens are working in three agricultural units in the Khabarovsk border areas. They have shown a conscientious attitude in their work and so it is possible to lease them the land they are working on a long-term basis. We hope they will be able to develop animal husbandry as well as plant vegetables and soybeans there. It is also possible that a number of specialized state farms may be established in the border areas and Chinese citizens may work on them.

Danilyuk says: We have carefully studied the Chinese experience in developing agricultural production in Heilongjiang Province, and have noticed their high agricultural skill. However, our neighbors seldom use agricultural technology. It appears that they do not have sufficient farm machinery. We have shown concern for this problem. There is the possibility of cooperation in this field. We have powerful industry in Khabarovsk Kray and have the foundation for producing various kinds of farm machinery. We have had positive experience in this respect. The Far East Diesel Engine Plant in Khabarovask has already signed a cooperation agreement with a Chinese company. Beginning this year, we shall jointly produce farm machinery for use in smaller plots, mainly individual households. We have drafted a plan for farm machinery production. I am convinced that there is great scope for cooperation between Soviet enterprises and Chinese companies. Khabarovask Kray and China side share a very long boundary. This explains that, in the future, we can more positively promote border trade, including barter trade. There is also the possibility of mutual assistance in solving the problem of food supply.

Danilyuk finally says: In making a final evaluation of the development of relations between Khabarovsk Kray and China, we can say that now our relations have become normalized. In all fields of life, especially in the economic field, we are developing friendship and contacts. This is a cheering thing.

Chinese Women's Delegation Ends Visit

OW0709125189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] The All-China Women's Federation delegation headed by Chen Muhua, president of the federation and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has ended its visit to the Soviet Union.

The delegation visited Moscow, Leningrad, and the Georgian capital Tbilisi to become acquainted with the life of Soviet women and their role in Soviet reform.

A farewell party was held at the All-Union Women's Federation on Monday [27 August]. Chen Muhua said: I am very satisfied with this visit. It has achieved marked results.

The Chinese delegation left for home on 28 August.

Northeast Asia

Far East Free Trade Zone Discussed With Japan

LD0609163689 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Vladivostok September 6 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vadim Klimentiyev:

Soviet-Japanese foreign economic contacts, joint ventures and free economic zones have been the principal topics of a Soviet-Japanese symposium which closed today in the administrative centre of the Primoriye territory (the south of the Soviet Far East).

Representatives of the Japanese business community showed keen interest in the report about setting up of a free economic zone in the area of Nakhodka. There is Vostochniy, the region's largest sea port, and there is a link with the principal Transsiberian railway line. In the opinion of Soviet economists the free zone in the area of Nakhodka will attract foreign investment, above all to manufacture equipment for fish-processing, ship-repair and wood-working organisations of the Soviet Far East. This does not rule out deployment of capacities for direct processing of raw materials. The firms that will come here will have ample scope to cooperate with enterprises of other Soviet regions and firms of different countries. The setting up of a concern to manage the zone's economic mechanism is not ruled out.

The Nakhodka free economic zone, to be set up on a decision taken at government level, will probably not be the only one in this part of the USSR. Scientists from the Far Eastern Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences are busy on a project for a free economic zone in the vicinity of Posiet where they count on the development of a new hub for intensive links with China. They hope to eventually set up a health and tourism complex here both for residents of the Soviet Far East and those of neighbouring countries.

Last year's trade between the USSR and Japan hit a record high—almost 6 billion dollars. The Soviet and Japanese symposium participants, including Professor Kazuo Ogawa (head of the Japanese delegation), director of a research institute under the Japanese Society for Trade With the USSR and the Socialist Countries of Europe, expressed the conviction that the volume of trade would largely depend on the growth of the export potential of the USSR and of the Far Eastern region. Today many Soviet enterprises and associations given the right to operate in the world market in the course of the economic reform are busy looking for new export possibilities. For their part, the firms and organisations of China, Japan, the United States, the DPRK, Vietnam, South Korea, Singapore, Australia and other countries of the Asia-Pacific region are showing great interest in cooperating with enterprises of the Soviet Far East and Siberia.

Kaifu Visit to Washington Assessed

PM0709094589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Igor Latyshev "Correspondent's Comment": "Meeting of the 'Global Partners'"]

[Text] Tokyo—Japan's political circles and press are discussing the results of the talks between Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and President Bush. Reports from Washington correspondents attest to the mutual readiness of the participants in the meeting for the further consolidation and expansion of the two countries' military cooperation on the basis of the U.S.-Japanese "security treaty." In this connection they cite a fairly ambiguous and contradictory statement by Kaifu to press representatives in which he spoke on the one hand about "Japan's lack of desire to be transformed into a great military power" and on the other stressed the intention to continue building up its military might. In the same connection it is reported that at the talks in Washington yesterday between Secretary of State James Baker and Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama the U.S. side persistently demanded that the Japanese Government further increase its budget appropriations for the upkeep of the U.S. military bases in Japan.

The distinguishing feature of the latest Japanese-U.S. summit was Japanese diplomacy's increased desire to hold a dialogue with the U.S. leaders on a whole range of global questions on international relations. The Japanese prime minister's persistent emphasis on the commitment to the course of turning Japan into America's "global partner" was linked in particular to that desire. This course, which reflects the Japanese ruling circles' intention to play a more active role in world politics, implies the introduction of the constant coordination of the two countries' positions on questions related to the situation in the most diverse parts of the world. It was no coincidence that during the talks with Bush the Japanese visitor tried to touch on a host of questions seemingly unconnected with Japanese-U.S. bilateral relations. According to press reports, for example, the talks between Kaifu and Bush as well as between the U.S. secretary of state and the Japanese foreign minister discussed the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the domestic political situation in the PRC, "measures to promote democratization and economic reforms in Poland and Hungary," and the two countries' positions on a peaceful settlement of the situation in Cambodia.

It would be naive to suppose that the participants in the summit meetings, which lasted around 2 and ½ hours, managed to discuss in detail the whole range of questions mentioned in the reports. By all accounts the Japanese prime minister included all these questions on the agenda of his meeting with the U.S. President to show his concern not so much for their resolution as to show to the public Japan's increased influence on the course of world events. In this respect Kaifu also displayed his covert desire to boost the prestige of the government which he formed in August and at the same time strengthen the greatly weakened standing of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party which was heavily defeated at the recent elections to the House of Councillors. However, the significance of Kaifu's ambitious claims to "equal" and "global" partnership with the United States can scarcely be exaggerated. The real balance of forces between Tokyo and Washington will be shown far more clearly during the bilateral working talks due to begin between the two countries' governments in the next few days.

Case for Recognizing South Korea Argued

PM0709090389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by F. Shabshina, Korean affairs specialist, under the "Soviet Scientist's Opinion" rubric: "Can the Korean Knot Be Unravelled?"—first-paragraph "Editor's Note" is carried as a footnote to the article]

[Text] Editor's Note: The author of the article, F.I. Shabshina, is a well known Soviet Korean affairs specialist and veteran of the CPSU. Before the war she taught at the Moscow "Serp i Molot" plant's educational facility and afterwards was head of the cultural department in the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office. From 1940 to 1946 she lived in Seoul with her husband who was working at the USSR Consulate General. In 1946 she began academic work at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. She is a leading Soviet specialist on Korea's modern history and contemporary problems, the author of many scientific works, and leader of a number of major studies. She is a Doctor of Historical Sciences and Meritorious Scientist of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Many severe strictures have been directed at social scientists of late. Severe but not always just. What are the causes of the long-established and still-persisting difficult situation that obtains in the social sciences and how can it be restored to normal? These questions demand special and comprehensive examination. I will attempt to consider them as far as I am able based on my experience in studying certain problems of the past and present of our neighbor—Korea—utilizing in order to validate my arguments not just its history, which I have devoted my whole life to studying, but also "field" material which I gathered in the country itself.

I lived and worked in Seoul (in the USSR Consulate General) 1940-1946 with a small break, that is to say, during diverse periods of Korea's modern history and at the watershed, no less, of very important epochs: During the colonial years and during the time of the country's liberation from colonialism and the subsequent people's democratic revolution that developed there. I was also witness to the export of counterrevolution to South Korea.

It seems to me that Soviet Korean studies by and large expound and interpret these and other events of Korean history objectively, on the basis of scientific methodology. But only by and large. They also contain, unfortunately, a fair amount of (and I have my own work first and foremost in mind here) cliche, dogmatism, and opportunism. However, can the researcher alone be blamed for all this? He is culpable of tenacious and firmly entrenched excessive circumspection, self-censorship, and self-limitation. But this is the consequence; the cause is to be seen elsewhere. It is not through the will of scientists that the following practice made up of two basic elements became the norm: First, the author's opinion is unfailingly identified with official policy; second, a directive was issued which still holds good that it is necessary to write about a fraternal state and particularly the DPRK solely in a positive light, strictly adhering to its official historiography.

True, in the last quarter-century, when DPRK historiography has altered its interpretation of certain questions concerning Korea's past and present, Soviet Korea specialists have not followed it in every regard but have merely sought to strengthen the evidential and documentary backing for their own concept. A kind of dialogue of the deaf has occurred: They write their way, we ours. All right, life, like science, is contradictory. But for all this, we remain good friends with Korean scientists.

I will endeavor to exercise my right to hold an unofficial opinion. It concerns the Korean question, the problem of uniting the country, which is the internal affair of the Korean people themselves but is at the same time, for a number of reasons, bound up with many international questions and our own national interests.

First, a little history. After Korea's liberation, the people's democratic revolution, which sprang from the heart of Korean society, spread throughout the country, but was suppressed in the South by means of the armed force of America, which had long hankered after the "tasty Korean morsel," to use Lenin's term. The foundation there of the Republic of Korea in 1948 was bound up with far-reaching U.S. strategic plans of having a docile satellite on the Soviet border. It represents, figuratively speaking, an "illegitimate state," a state conceived in an imperialist test tube but one which has proved a viable and, moreover, even thriving one from the economic standpoint. The reasons for this constitute a special question which I do not touch upon here. The most important thing is that the South Korean state has existed for more than 40 years. It is an objective reality. This reality has also in effect been acknowledged by the DPRK, which has proposed to it that a confederation be created, that is to say, a form of state system whereby the states constituting it retain their autonomy. I stress, states.

All the peace initiatives proposed by the DPRK in the last 40 years aimed at restoring national unity have proved ineffective. The attempt by reaction in 1950-1953 to unite the country by military means merely deepened its division and brought incalculable human losses and suffering upon the Korean people.

The idea of a confederation is no doubt promising. But it has not thus far been realized for a number of reasons. Clearly extra levers capable of translating it into reality are required. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and other socialist countries with South Korea is seen as one such. (Cross-recognition whereby we recognize South Korea and the United States and its allies recognize the DPRK cannot be ruled out either). Let's try to weigh up all the pros and cons of such a thesis, approaching it from the standpoint of new political thinking.

Let us take four apsects of the problem: South Korea today; DPRK policy; the situation on the Korean peninsula; and our national interests. These constitute merely the basic threads of the taut and pretty tangled "Korean knot." Let us start with the fact that modern South Korea is now far from being what it once was. And we are not talking just about the powerful economic leap forward that has occurred. The political sphere and the correlation of internal and external factors and the objective and subjective conditions of its development have undergone changes. On the whole the situation in the South, with its 42 million-strong population, is highly contradictory in all of the aforementioned aspects. Along with its advantages, the export-oriented model adopted there contains great problems associated, in particular, with its strong susceptibility to fluctuations in the world market. Faced with pressure from a growing wave of grassroots dissatisfaction with social inequality, low wages, and military diktat, the South Korean authorities and their American sponsors have been forced to carry out substantial reforms in political life. The national factor, which constitutes such a powerful internal spring, needs special mention. Everything established by the sources and literature on Korean studies (and also everything that I saw and heard during my time in Seoul) bears witness to the depth and strength of this factor, which is aided by the homogeneous national makeup of Korea.

The national principle manifests itself in movements which are diverse both in terms of their nature and their membership. It is reflected in particular by the demands for the withdrawal of American troops and intensifying calls for the country's reunification. South Korean public opinion cannot fail to see or realize that the gap between the two halves of a single nation and people, with a more than 4,000-year history, a rich distinct culture, and common customs, habits, and way of life is widening. Can it fail to sense the tragic nature of this historical anomaly?

But South Korea's upper echelons are also aware of and take account of the situation and the ferment of public thinking. Nor does the United States stand aside. Without simplifying the problem of the South's attaining new heights of development or increasing its independence and role in terms of world economic objectives, we can see that the Republic of Korea [Koreyskaya Respublika] remains attached to the United States as a "junior partner." The American Armed Forces have been on its territorry for almost 45 years, a fact which substantially complicates the situation in the region and offends against the national feelings of all Koreans.

U.S. influence on the South's internal affairs has weakened considerably of late. But the United States is active in the spiritual and psychological sphere and seeks to exploit to the utmost the particularities of local conditions and the whole situation on the peninsula. One inevitably recalls here the time when the Japanese masters of Korea blatantly manipulated in a carefully thought-out and resourceful way certain features of Korean traditions. They fomented and inspired, in particular, the long-standing struggle among groups, and this did considerable damage to the Korean liberation struggle. Is it accidental that it has also assumed acute forms in the South's trade unions today and that opposition and democratic forces are disunited? When you write about this, your mind involuntarily turns to history. But whereas Japan, particularly in the latter years of its domination, made extensive use of racist and panasianist ideas, exercising increasing care in respect of Korean traditions, it seems to me that certain U.S. forces and their ideological machine are now strenuously fostering in South Korean society the cult of business, consumerism, and material blessings, while nationalist ambitions, the struggle among groups, and reactionary traditionalism are simultaneously stoked up. However, in the contest being waged in the depths of South Korea's ideological life the craving for democracy and national unity is gaining strength.

Given these conditions the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist states with the Republic of Korea could, in my personal opinion, objectively only promote the progressive processes taking place in South Korean society. And, finally, is it possible to ignore the situation on the Korean peninsula? The constant tension existing there helps to fuel an atmosphere in which the danger of war is present and a threat is posed to the peace of not only the peninsula but the whole neighboring region.

Today, when the problem of mankind's survival confronts us, the main task of proletarian, socialist internationalism and its exponents is to be in the vanguard of the struggle to avert nuclear catastrophe, secure peace, and eliminate trouble spots (and that includes the Korean Peninsula). Scientific methodology demands a creative and concrete historical approach to the question of socialist countries' mutual aid and solidarity. Today their collaboration is concentrated primarily in the sphere of solving global tasks common to all mankind and in the joint search for ways to improve socialism and raise it to a new qualitative level that corresponds to the objective realities of the late 20th century. This constitutes a special and large question of fundamental social science. I am touching on it merely from the perspective of this topic in order to refute the thesis that socialist states' recognition of the state of South Korea represents a violation by them of their socialist duty and the principles of socialist internationalism. Whereas, on the contrary, it forms part and parcel of that duty and international principles.

As is well known, the Korean question goes beyond the framework of a single country. U.S. soldiers confront the DPRK's servicemen on the 38th parallel, the tragic border dividing a single nation. South Korea has one of the largest armies in Asia and the U.S. forces stationed there are equipped with nuclear weapons. The interests of such countries as the USSR, the PRC, the United States, and Japan are interlinked on the peninsula. In brief, this is a region of high military and political tension. The socialist world's recognition of the South may reduce it considerably. The DPRK's solidarity with that action and active support for it would greatly enhance Pyongyang's standing in the eyes of the Korean nation and the world community. South Korea's broad involvement in cooperation and collaboration with the socialist countries could promote the gradual implementation of the idea of a confederation, the transformation of the peninsula into a nuclear-free zone and of the armistice into lasting peace, and North-South dialogue and could expand the opportunities for mutual understanding and rational compromise between them. I think that this process could develop successfully if the states concerned joined in the solution of the aforementioned problems. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations promotes that. Perhaps there should be a return to the idea put forward by the DPRK to convene an international conference involving all the interested countries.

Does all this not represent international support for our strategic ally and friend, the DPRK?

Finally, our national interests must be mentioned. For a long time, a very long time, they were not considered in the USSR's policy toward Korea. Indeed, we had no policy of our own, we merely automatically supported the course of our ally—the DPRK—even on questions going beyond the purely internal Korean framework. For example, for a long time we stubbornly rejected economic contacts with the South which were beneficial to the Soviet Union. At the same time some other socialist countries acted independently on the basis of their national interests and maintained such contacts (albeit indirectly) for a long time. Now, having begun economic ties with South Korea we are for some reason not making progress or establishing relations with it in all the other areas which would expand and strengthen the potential for economic cooperation and help to ease tension on our Far Eastern borders. Recognition of the South would also enhance our international prestige because it is consonant with the new political thinking.

I shall finish as I began. The times dictate the need for different measures and approaches to the Korean problem, which creatively generalize all past experience and take into account the interests and requirements of the DPRK, the whole Korean nation, and the cause of peace and security in the region, and our national interests. The Soviet Union's recognition of South Korea could be one such measure. That is purely my personal opinion. There are alternatives to it, of course, and counterarguments. I am weighing them up in my mind. Nevertheless, I personally would give an unambiguous "yes" to the question of whether it is expedient to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Hun Sen Interviewed on Settlement Issues

PM0609152189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Hun Sen, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, by own correspondent B. Vinogradov, under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "Cambodia: Routes to a Settlement"; date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In conversation with IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Vinogradov Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, and Cambodian foreign minister, shared his impressions of the work of the recent first stage of the Paris international conference on Cambodia.

[Vinogradov] How would you assess the results of the Paris conference, and what is its importance for a full settlement of the Cambodia problem?

[Hun Sen] I would briefly describe its results as follows: The Paris conference was not a complete success, but neither should it be claimed that it was a failure. There were points on which agreement and mutual understanding between the participants were revealed, but there were also points on which different views continue to be held. As for the accords that were reached, they can be considered a foundation for further dialogue. If the Paris forum is compared with the international conference organized under UN auspices and the resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly over the past 10 years, the current conference was more successful. Let me explain what I mean. Throughout this period the United Nations has tried to solve the Cambodia problem somehow or other but has been unable to do so. And although the Paris conference was not held at UN initiative, the five permanent members of the Security Council took part in its work. For the first time representatives of the world community recognized that the Cambodia problem is not just the presence of Vietnamese troops in our country, but the Pol Pot problem too. We can now state that this recognition as well as certain other accords are a good basis for continued negotiations, although there are still many issues awaiting resolution. And I think that this is natural, since a 20-year conflict cannot be resolved in a single month.

[Vinogradov] The Paris conference was preceded by informal meetings in Jakarta. Could you compare these two forums in terms of their contribution to the settlement process?

[Hun Sen] On the basis of specific results it should be noted that there was a departure in Paris from certain positions recorded in Jakarta. But there are also a number of points on which further progress was made. The Paris conference has a wider range of participants. And that alone is progress. For the first time the great powers—the permanent members of the UN Security Council—have taken part in solving the Cambodia problem outside the framework of that world organization. And the discussion was held without reference to the UN resolutions on Cambodia. Specifically, the topic under discussion was the genocide carried out by the Pol Pot regime. Although the United Nations had adopted no documents on this problem throughout the 10 years.

[Vinogradov] What can now be said about the positions of the four Cambodian sides with regard to the results of the Paris meeting? Have they moved closer to each other?

[Hun Sen] No, these positions diverged further during the course of the conference. The reason for this was the opposition's reluctance to seriously strive for a settlement. Prince Sihanouk increasingly sides [solidarizir-uyetsya] with the Pol Pot brigade. It had previously seemed that the Cambodian sides' positions were close to each other, bearing in mind the agreements reached previously between Sihanouk and ourselves. It was considered that the most inflexible [ortodoksalnyy] position was adopted by the "Khmers Rouges." But the fact that Sihanouk has again entered into a deal with the "Khmers Rouges" marks a deepening of differences.

[Vinogradov] In this regard what role do you see for the "Khmers Rouges" in the settlement process?

[Hun Sen] Everyone clearly realizes now that they are the main obstacle blocking the path to a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. Not only do they act jointly with those whose aim it is to liquidate our state but they are using all means to block any possible settlement. A peaceful solution will materialize only when the Pol Pot clique ceases to exist as a military organization. All efforts to preserve it as a political and military grouping constitute interference in the Cambodian people's internal affairs. It is impossible to allow any legalization of the Pol Pot regime because this would produce fresh calamities for Cambodia in the present and in the future.

[Vinogradov] What ought to be borne in mind when talking of the need to eliminate the Pol Pot grouping as a political and military force?

[Hun Sen] Let us rephrase the question: What is it that still enables it to operate? It is the material support from China, and most importantly Thailand's consent to the use of its territory. Furthermore, Sihanouk and Son Sann act jointly with it. If a political settlement were to be reached on a bilateral basis between the State of Cambodia and Sihanouk, and if Thailand and China were to cease giving it aid, this grouping would rapidly lose its importance. This is why it now has to make a choice: Either to announce its own disbandment, or to have some section of it, without Pol Pot and his closest associates, participating in a settlement. This is without historical precedent. Back in the past, in 1954-1955, Sihanouk was already demanding that other parties should disarm, change their policy, refuse support from other states, and respect the existing state system. We demand that the "Khmers Rouges" lay down their arms and break with Pol Pot, and those who do this will be able to participate in the settlement.

[Vinogradov] Has Sihanouk's role changed since his departure as leader of his party?

[Hun Sen] His departure means only that Sihanouk has become even more closely involved with the "Khmers Rouges." Now he represents not his own party but a Cambodia with a "Khmer Rouge" presence. Sihanouk is thus raising additional barriers across the path to a settlement. Formerly, his relative independence enabled him to act autonomously. Now he is finding it more difficult to play his role in national reconciliation. These difficulties will increase unless he breaks with Pol Pot's men.

[Vinogradov] The Vietnamese troops will depart Cambodia at the end of September. How will this affect the future development of the situation?

[Hun Sen] There are two factors to be taken into account here. First, the situation on the Cambodian front. We foresee the possibility of hostile groupings stepping up their combat operations and are taking the appropriate measures. Second, the political importance of this event. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops will radically change the situation. Whereas earlier the opposition claimed that it was fighting against "Vietnamese occupation," now it will have to wage war against the Cambodian people themselves. The countries which have hitherto acted against us, exploiting the fact of the Vietnamese troops' presence, will be deprived of their main argument.

[Vinogradov] One last question. In your view, what are the prospects for the world community's participation in the solution of the Cambodia problem?

[Hun Sen] I want to say that the work of the Paris conference has been adjourned rather than completed. The talks must continue. Both within the international conference framework and within the framework of the informal meetings in Jakarta which, incidentally, have also adjourned. We are, as before, in favor of dialogue and an all-embracing settlement of the conflict.

U.S. Report on Burmese Rights Abuses Criticized

BK0709040389 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] According to news reports from Yangoon, varying degrees of punishment have been meted out to several people for their antigovernment crimes. We are given to understand that the punishment was for the murder of government personnel during last year's mass demonstrations. In addition to this, we have learned that people who resorted to violence in the recent past have also been put under arrest.

A group of people responsible for an explosion at the city's municipal building on 10 July has also been detained. Three people died and four were wounded in that explosion. At the time of the arrest, the group was trying to illegally transport arms, ammunition, and demolition equipment. It is, of course, a natural thing to punish such people, and any nation would have done the same. We find little reason to say that the punishment meted out against these criminals was too harsh. There would even be less reason to say such a thing if we take into consideration the situation faced by Myanmar following last year's protests.

According to a recent broadcast by the Yangon radio station, Education Minister Dr Pe Thein warned against attempts to paint a different and exaggerated picture of last year's events, especially dealing with the casualties during the demonstrations and the punishment meted out for crimes during the crisis.

Such attempts are becoming increasingly apparent, and we even see them outside Myanmar. For instance, THE NEW YORK TIMES, referring to a report from the U.S. Embassy in Yangon, said that thousands of people have been put under detention for their part in antigovernment activities following July this year. The report said that the detainees were mistreated and tortured, that they were burned by cigarette butts and given electric shocks. It said the detainees were interrogated after being kept sleepless both day and night in small cells filled with knee-deep water. THE NEW YORK TIMES report said that the beatings, tortures, and abuses of prisoners have become every day events in the country, and the U.S. Embassy has concrete evidence that many have died as a result of such treatment.

The newspaper did not say where the concrete evidence comes from nor did it state the names of prisoners who have died. It is quite evident that THE NEW YORK TIMES article is aimed at censuring the Myanmar Government. We may perhaps say the article was dreamed up by someone or that it simply intentionally misinterpreted the situation in the country in order to slander the Myanmar Government.

Whatever the case may be, our station commentator says that we must be very careful not to interfere in the internal affairs of Myanmar, particularly at a time when the fate of the people is enmeshed in such a precarious and complicated situation.

Indonesian President To Visit 7 Sep

LD0609121189 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—At the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Indonesian President Suharto will visit the Soviet Union on an official visit on Thursday [7 September].

President Suharto is known as one of the most prominent statesmen in Asia. His name is linked with advances made by Indonesia in economic development and its growing prestige in the international arena. The government, which he leads, takes active part in the work of the U.N., the Non-Aligned Movement and other international forums, advocates stronger peace in the Asia-Pacific region and the world, works to develop relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

Welcoming President Suharto's visit, the Soviet Union expresses conviction that his visit will give a fresh impetus to further onward development of Soviet-Indonesian relations, and make a contribution to strengthening mutual understanding and trust between the two countries.

Suharto Interviewed Before Visit

PM0709101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS account of interview with Indonesian President Suharto: "Cooperation in the Name of Progress"]

[Text] Djakarta, 4 Sep—Indonesian President Suharto has answered TASS and USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Braodcasting correspondents' questions in connection with his impending visit to the Soviet Union.

[Correspondents] Esteemed Mr President, your impending visit to the Soviet Union will be the first official visit to the USSR by a head of state of the Republic of Indonesia in 25 years. How do you regard the significance of this event in the context of the development of Indonesian-Soviet relations and the prospects for expanding cooperation between the two countries?

[Suharto] First of all I want to express satisfaction at being able to respond to Mikhail Gorbachev's invitation to visit the USSR, this great country. I highly appreciate the invitation and I see the visit as an important event and new milestone in relations between the two states over the past 25 years. As is known, the last visit by an Indonesian president was around 25 years ago. Many important changes have taken place during these years. These changes are highly dynamic both in the USSR and in Indonesia, both in different regions and in the world as a whole. Indonesia's development is inseparable from world development, since we are part of the world community, which is becoming more and more closely interrelated and increasingly interdependent.

Various peoples' experience in the struggle to attain their national goals, the joint experience of the peoples of different regions, and the overall experience of all mankind in living together on our planet, which is becoming smaller and smaller with the development of scientific and technical progress and progress in communications and information sciences, have given rise to a new and extremely valuable awareness of realities. Everywhere there has been an upsurge in the new awareness that all peoples without exception—big and small, strong and weak, those that have achieved progress or are developing—bear a common responsibility for the future of all mankind. Only by working together can mankind overcome the threat of nuclear war, famine, injustice, and the destruction of the environment, which could destroy mankind itself and its civilization.

Full of hope, mankind watches the rapprochement between the great world powers. Mankind also senses a new wind blowing in the West and the East, in the North and the South. A wind that is revitalizing morals and ethics, the values of humanity, freedom, and openness, and the ideals of social justice, a wind that strengthens national and international solidarity.

The preamble to our constitution, which proclaims the elimination from the world of anything that does not accord with humanity and justice and also involvement in the creation of a world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice, is consonant with the fresh new wind that is beginning to blow everywhere.

We in Indonesia are keeping a close eye on the Soviet Government's new political initiatives both in the domestic policy sphere and in the international arena. We are carefully studying the Vladivostok program. We are watching from afar the policy of perestroyka and glasnost that is being conducted in the Soviet Union under President Gorbachev's leadership. We want the implementation of perestroyka and glasnost to bring the best possible results for the good of progress and the prosperity of the Soviet peoples.

Having overcome various difficulties and obstacles through hard work and sacrifices and having implemented since 1969 four 5-year national constructipn plans, we have now made considerable achievements in our development. The fifth 5-year plan, which we started in April, will be the final stage in the first long-term, 25-year program of national construction. Then we intend to embark on the process of implementing the second 25-year program of national construction. The second stage of long-term development will be a new phase of national construction, since we intend to continue development on the basis of our own efforts in order to build a society in accordance with our ideals and dreams, that is, a just and prosperous society based on "pancasila."

"Pancasila" is our philosophy, our national ideology, and the foundation of our state. It is five basic postulates, which make up a single entity: Belief in an all-powerful god, humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy based on debate and the people's representation in state administrative organs, and also social justice for the whole people of Indonesia. In the economic plane the society we dream about will be built through the creation of a powerful industry, based on a strong agrarian sector.

In short, the dynamic transformations in our countries and worldwide offer both states new opportunities for expanding constructive cooperation in the name of progress in each of them and also for the joint contribution we can make to peace.

Today economics are becoming increasingly global and international. Therefore international cooperation is a necessity. And I can see many opportunities for developing cooperation between our countries in the economic, trade, and scientific and technical spheres. My visit to the USSR is inseparable from the throughts expressed above. Our policy in the sphere of international relations stems from the positions of the preamble to the constitution, which, in particular, demands Indonesia's involvement in the establishment of a world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice. It is clear, therefore, that our foreign policy goals are peace and the development of the peoples on the basis of fraternal cooperation. On the basis of the principles of mutual respect, sovereignty and independence, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs, we want to live in friendship with all the peoples and are seeking to strengthen mutual understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation with all countries, irrespective of different ideologies or political systems.

I am sure that my upcoming exchange of opinions with President Gorbachev and the exchange of opinions between the ministers and commander in chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, accompanying me on the trip, and their Soviet counterparts will be our common contribution to improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific Region and the world as a whole.

[Correspondents] What urgent problems, in your view, demand the speediest solution through the joint efforts of all the peoples of the Asia-Pacific Region? At the moment various concepts of regional cooperation are being discussed in the region. They have been put forward by the Asia-Pacific Region countries, including the Soviet Union. How do you see the future of cooperation in the region, which is playing an increasingly important part in international development?

[Suharto] A topical issue that must be solved as soon as possible through the joint efforts of all the Asia-Pacific Region countries is the development of economic cooperation, corresponding to the new demands of the impending 21st century.

The future of the Asia-Pacific Region is indeed attracting much attention. Various concepts have been developed in the countries of the region, on which the future of the 21st century depends. Indonesia, as a developing country of the region, with a population of around 180 million people inhabiting the world's biggest island state, which possesses very rich natural resources, is of course committed to sharing responsibility for the future of the Asia-Pacific Region.

If the future of the Asia-Pacific Region is associated with the future of the countries whose shores are lapped by the waters of the Pacific Ocean, then the population of these states constitutes the bulk of mankind. There are vast natural resources in this region, which, if developed in the best and fairest way, can give hope of prosperity for the whole world. This extensive region is populated by peoples with a centuries-old cultural heritage, who jealously guard their traditions and life values. Some of them are in the process of a transformation in the preservation of their sacred values, bringing them into line with the new requirements and demands of our rapidly changing era.

The region has a great variety of social and political systems. From the economic development viewpoint, this variety is even more striking. Alongside the highly developed industrial states there are the "new industrial countries" and also states which are in the process of development. There are even countries in the first stages of building a modern society.

If you look at the region as a whole, you see that as well as the enormous opportunities for progress and joint prosperity in the future, there are also obstacles which must be taken most seriously. As for economic cooperation, and development, the main question is how to ensure that this cooperation can accelerate the process of national construction in the developing countries and ensure justice.

It must be added that at the regional level Indonesia sees ASEAN as a form of cooperation which plays the main role in our foreign policy. Together with the other ASEAN countries, Indonesia will continue the struggle to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality, in particular for the creation of a zone free from nuclear weapons, as one of its most important components.

With this in mind, Indonesia is open to various proposals and concepts on strengthening economic cooperation among the Asia-Pacific Region states on condition that it pursues the goal of preserving a free and open world economic system and is not geared to creating a closed trade bloc.

[Correspondents] The experience of economic, political, and social transformations in other countries, including Indonesia, which is preparing to enter an era of rising to a new level of development, is becoming increasingly important to the Soviet Union, where the perestroyka process is continuing. What are the main aims and tasks that Indonesia sets itself at this important stage of national construction?

[Suharto] At the ceremony to celebrate National Awakening Day on 20 May 1989 I compared the current process to a second national awakening. I said that because during this process we intend to put our country on the same level as the other, more developed countries. We went through the first national awakening in 1908, when for the first time we saw ourselves as a nation and began to acquire the ability to organize in a modern way.

The Indonesian people are a highly heterogeneous community of different races, tribes, and religions, although they all have identical status and equal opportunities and are urged to contribute to the national character, which we are continuing to strengthen. We are encouraging the merger of different tribes and ethnic groups and are striving to weaken group fanaticism, although we give the different groups a proper opportunity to show their originality.

In the process of moving toward a just and flourishing society efforts are continuing to improve the standard of living, education, and the people's well-being by laying a solid foundation for the attainment of the next stage of national construction.

Obviously we see national construction not only as efforts in the economic sphere. To us the economy is just one aspect, albeit a very important one, of the entire process of creating a modern Indonesian nation, which, however, will retain its distinctiveness. Therefore, in the matter of resolving national tasks it is not only economic goals that are important, but also the mobilization of all the nation's creative forces and all the people's aspirations.

Suharto Arrives in Uzbekistan

LD0709030189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0233 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Tashkent, 7 Sep (TASS)—President Suharto of the Republic of Indonesia and his wife arrived today in the capital of Uzbekistan. He made a stopover here while heading for Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. At Tashkent airport, arrayed with the state flags of Indonesia, the USSR, and Uzbekistan, the distinguished visitor was welcomed by Mirzaolim Ibragimov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of Uzbekistan, and by other officials.

Indonesian Junior Trade Minister Interviewed

PM0709094189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Sudrajat Jiwandono, Indonesian junior minister of trade, by own correspondent I. Kovalev: "Indonesia—USSR: We Have Plenty To Trade With"—date of interview not given]

[Text] A few days ago the first session of the mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission on trade and economic cooperation was held in Moscow. The Indonesian delegation was headed by Sudrajat Jiwandono, junior minister of trade. This is what he replied to questions put by IZVESTIYA correspondent I. Kovalev:

[Kovalev] What is your opinion of the prospects for trade and economic ties between the USSR and Indonesia?

[Jiwandono] The conditions for the development of cooperation are favorable since there are opportunities and the desire for this on both sides. The main objective factors for the expansion of mutually advantageous ties are Indonesia's economic achievements, and, on the Soviet side, the new thinking, perestroyka, and glasnost in the Soviet Union which are leading to deeply significant changes. The improvement of the economic structures in both our countries and the expansion of the range of export goods also provide new stimuli for mutually advantageous trade. Export-import relations are also favored by such basic factors as the improvement of the transport potential and communication technology.

[Kovalev] What can realistically be done in this sphere right now?

[Jiwandono] Economic and trade ties can be expanded through the exchange of trade missions, contacts via chambers of commerce, and new forms of business.

[Kovalev] What was the atmosphere like at the talks and what results did they produce?

[Jiwandono] The dialogue took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. It was decided to continue the talks on the Soviet side's proposals for the Soviet Union's participation in coal extraction in Indonesia, to study opportunities for cooperation in the sphere of opthalmology, and to extend the experience of cooperation which has begun in the sphere of tea to the sphere of palm oil as regards marketing and processing. The sides also agreed to study concrete prospects for cooperation in the sphere of coffee. Talks were held at the meeting about the establishment in the Soviet Union of joint ventures for the production of furniture. This would be expedient and advantageous for both sides.

[Kovalev] What effect, in your opinion, will the upcoming visit of President Suharto of Indonesia to the USSR have on the development of trade and economic relations between our countries?

[Jiwandono] It will undoubtedly be a powerful impetus. The visit of President Suharto to the Soviet Union is extraordinarily important for underpinning all our efforts. This visit is called upon to accelerate the development of relations between our two countries in many spheres, including the trade and economic sphere.

Soviet Delegation Visit to Australia Continues

Delegates Holds Talks With Parliament

LD0609164189 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Canberra September 6 TASS—The Soviet parliamentary delegation, headed by Nikolay Dementey, vice-president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, currently on a visit here, had talks today with leaders of the Australian parliament—Kerry Walter Sibraa, chairman of the Senate, and Leo Mcleay, speaker of the house of Representatives, and leaders of opposition parties—Andrew Peacock and Ch. Blunt. The Soviet MPS also had a meeting with the recently formed parliamentary group for the promotion of friendly relations between Australia and the Soviet Union. Expressed during the talks was the reciprocal desire of both sides to estabish more stable long-term relations between the two parliaments, to draw legislators into the discussion of key state problems related to the external policies of the two countries and their economic relations. The members of the Soviet delegation dwelt on the process of implementing the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives pertaining to the Asia-Pacific region, which Mikhail Gorabchev had put forth in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. The Australian parliamentarians assessed highly the Soviet proposals and expressed the hope that they would be carried out successfully.

The Soviet parliament members called on Gareth John Evans, the Australian minister for foreign affairs and trade. The sides discussed several concrete questions of bilateral cooperation and international problems of mutual concern. In this context they devoted attention to the forthcoming international conference to do away with chemical weapons, which is to be held in Canberra later this September with the participation of government representatives and industrialists. The Soviet Union will dispatch a representative delegation to this important forum.

Last night the delegation had a meeting in Melbourne with the leadership of the "Australia-USSR" Council of Businessmen. This organisation, uniting leading Australian businessmen, contributes to the development of mutual advantageous commercial and economic relations between the two states. The sides touched on questions of Australian corporations' participation in the development of the Soviet Far East, on prospects of promoting cooperation in diverse areas, including contacts between individual enterprises and firms of both states. The sides expressed the hope that new forms of Soviet-Australian economic interaction, including joint ventures, would be further developed.

Governor General Receives Delegation

LD0709141889 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Canberra September 7 TASS—A Supreme Soviet delegation led by Deputy Supreme Soviet Chairman Nikolay Dementyev was received by Australia's Governor General William Hayden here today.

The sides discussed a wide range of issues on bilateral cooperation and important international issues.

The Soviet parliamentarians also met Prime Minister Robert Hawke to discuss the future of Soviet-Australian cooperation in different areas, including economics, and ways of expanding contacts between the countries' legislatures.

Bob Hawke took a keen interest in perestroika and the functioning of the new Soviet parliament.

The delegates had talks with minister for primary industry and energy John Kerin to discuss Soviet-Australian cooperation in agriculture, including the processing and storing of farming products.

There were more meetings in the Australian parliament. The Soviet delegation attended the sessions of both lower and upper houses of the Australian legislature.

Discussions with members of foreign affairs, defence and foreign trade committees focused on Soviet-Australian cooperation in foreign policy.

The sides spoke of boosting bilateral cooperation to promote security in the Asia-Pacific region, nuclear arms control progress, and prospects for an early signing of an international convention banning chemical arms.

On Friday, the Soviet delegation will head for Sydney, where it will end its official tour of Australia.

Near East & South Asia

Israeli Minister Refused Visa for Estonia Visit

AU0609135289 Paris AFP in English 1342 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, Sept 6 (AFP)—Israeli Agriculture Minister Abraham Katz-'Oz has been denied a visa for a visit to the Soviet Union, his Estonian counterpart, Vello Lind, said Wednesday.

Mr Katz-'Oz, a Labour Party member currently in Helsinki, was due to have arrived Wednesday in Tallinn, the Estonian capital, for a week-long unofficial visit, but "he has not been granted and will not be granted a visa" by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Mr Lind told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in a telephone interview.

No Israeli minister has visited the Soviet Union since Moscow broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in the wake of the 1967 Six-Day War.

The visit was planned at the Israeli minister's initiative, but had the backing of Estonian government officials who had issued an official letter of invitation, Mr. Lind said.

Mr Katz-'Oz was to have attended an international flower show and was due to visit a milk cooperative and a number of farms. He had also been expected to hold talks with Estonian government officials, Mr Lind added.

Shells Damage Soviet Embassy in Lebanon

LD0709102189 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Beirut September 7 TASS—An artillery shell exploded at the Soviet Embassy compounds last night as the shelling of western Beirut continued.

Several shells were also fired at the Soviet Trade Office and homes of Soviet employees living in Lebanon.

The building of the Soviet Embassy was damaged. Luckily, no one was hurt.

Air Raids, Shelling in Lebanon Viewed

PM0709095389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA "Press Service" report: "Lebanon: Air Raids, Shelling"]

[Text] In the night from 3 to 4 September Israeli aviation bombed a district in southern Lebanon. A statement by a Tel Aviv spokesman on this subject says that the Israeli Air Force hit "a target belonging to a terrorist organization." No details about the air raid and its consequences have as yet been received.

Although the name of the organization has not been disclosed, it is, according to REUTER, a question of Hizballah, the pro-Iranian Shi'ite grouping. Thus the latest attack is already the second Israeli air raid against Hizballah. Eight days ago the Israelis bombed the headquarters of this organization in the settlement of 'Ayn Busvar [second element of name as transliterated] in southern Lebanon. News agencies link Tel Aviv's current operation with a number of shellings of Israeli territory from positions in southern Lebanon in recent days.

Meanwhile the situation in Beirut remains extremely tense. According to a French Television correspondent no respite is to be expected in the armed clashes. Artillery fire continues unabated in the city. During the past 2 days the ports and adjoining residential areas controlled by the forces of the provisional military government of General M. 'Awn were subjected to shelling. Sporadic fire fights flared up along the Green Line and in the southern suburbs of Beirut. The Mountain Area of Lebanon and positions near the strategically important Suq al-Gharb were in the fire zone.

Last Sunday General 'Awn leveled sharp accusations against the United States and Syria. Pointing out that Washington has essentially done nothing to end Damascus' military presence in Lebanon, the head of the provisional military government described the policy of the U.S. Administration as "immoral." Lebanon remains a "bargaining counter" in the policy of other powers which are trying to resolve their own problems at Lebanon's expense, 'Awn said.

At the same time he made a positive assessment of the Soviet Union's actions, noting that Moscow is contributing to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Near East by political means. This opinion is shared by the French 'Antenne-2' television network, which notes, however, that the efforts of France and the USSR to settle the crisis in Lebanon have, it is true, so far failed to produce any results.

Soviet Delegation Head Meets Libya's Jallud

LD0209195989 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Tripoli September 2 TASS—Member of Libya's Revolutionary leadership, 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, on Saturday met Aleksandr Vlasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation and alternate Politburo member.

Vlasov is heading a Soviet delegation at the celebrations on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution.

During the meeting, Jallud gave assessments to political, social and economic changes in the country since the revolution.

He said that the Libyan leadership will continue efforts to make maximal use of the potential of the system of "direct government by the people", in effect in the country, preserving at the same time (?progressive) guidelines of the Libyan revolution.

Vlasov spoke about renovation in all fields of life of Soviet society. He pointed to the organic interrelationship between perestroyka and the concept of new political thinking in international affairs, and described in detail the Soviet leadership's consistent efforts to democratise and humanise inter-state contacts and regulate regional conflicts politically, on the basis of balance of interests.

Vlasov greeted Libya's constructive role in settling certain conflicts in Africa and strengthening the climate of trust in the maghreb.

Discussing Soviet-Libyan relations, the sides pointed to the high level of bilateral ties and to the need to upgrade bilateral cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual interests.

The meeting was attended by Soviet Ambassador to Libya Pogos Akopov.

Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Soviet Delegation

LD0109200989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 1 Sep 89

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] [Zholkver] The theory of the so-called third path to development, which unites a number of the tenets of Islam with Marxist ideas on social justice, was worked out by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and set out in his Green Book. Here is what was said on this subject in a report we have just received from Tripoli, the capital of Libya.

[Unidentified correspondent] In Tripoli, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution received a Soviet delegation headed by (Ligachev), director of the International Relations Publishing House. In the course of the meeting, the first copies of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's work, the Greek Book, which was published by the Soviet publishing house, were presented to him. The fact that the Green Book has been published in the USSR was seen as a notable step in the development of Soviet-Libyan relations. The Libyan leader stressed that the basic ideas of his book are concordant with the policy of perestroyka being carried [illegible] the Soviet Union. He particularly noted the per[illegible]ices of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Sergeyevic[illegible]hev, in the drawing up and implementation of this policy. Al-Qadhdhafi asked that a copy of the book signed by him be given to Comrade Gorbachev. The proposal to hold before the end of this year a Soviet-Libyan symposium on the problems of Soviet perestroyka and the further development of the Libyan revolution was expressed. A report on the meeting between Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and the Soviet delegation was broadcast on Libyan television. In the report, the text of the Libyan leader's address to Soviet readers was read out. [video shows Al-Qadhdhafi receiving delegation]

[Zhokver] Let me remind you that in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's message to Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, it is stressed that we welcome the steps of the Libyan leadership aimed at rendering the situation on the African continent healthier.

Najibullah Cited at Nonaligned Summit Conference

LD0609155589 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—By TASS Political News Analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Afghanistan's internal problems cannot be resolved without a ceasefire, without a dialogue among Afghans and creation of a broad- based government through democratic elections. This opinion was expressed by Afghanistan's President Najibullah at the ninth non-aligned summit conference in Belgrade. He declared for suspension of hostilities in Afghanistan for six months and for the convocation of a peace conference in Afghanistan.

It is apparent that the Afghan leadership is consistently striving to restore peace in long-suffering Afghan land. It is characteristic that Kabul makes calls for peace at a time when even numerous adversaries of Afghanistan have to admit that the republic's government is a close-knit political force capable of managing state affairs and of protecting the country. And this means that Kabul's readiness for compromises shows its strength and a high measure of responsibility to the people, not its weakness.

Mention should be made of the military-political background for President Najibullah's peaceful calls. The rebels continue to subject to rocketry fire Kabul and other Afghan cities. They continue armed raids on caravans with food. But it remains a fact that the so-called "irreconcilable opposition" has not scored a somewhat important military victory to this day. Their 124-day siege of Jalalabad has been broken, and they sustained defeats near Khost and on the approaches to Kabul. And if someone could be misled by calls for "the battle for Islam's purity" and slogans of jihad while there were Soviet troops in Afghanistan, it is now obvious to everyone that these calls and slogans are nothing more than the smokescreen aimed at concealing the claims of "irreconcilable opposition" to power and even at camouflaging just plain banditry.

The policy of those circles in the United States and Pakistan which refuse to face reality and continue their anti-Afghan line based on "power methods" is seen clearly in this situation. A Washington official supervising military supplies was recently removed from his post for allegedly failing to ensure the supply of armaments for rebels in due volumes. The latest reports show that anti-aircraft missiles Stinger, mortars and even new "ground-to- ground" cluster rockets, particularly dangerous for the civilian population, are being supplied to rebels. And just yesterday the very day the Afghan president called for ceasefire a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State said again that Washington's Afghan policy remains unchanged....

Does this mean that there will be more raids on Kabul, new acts of terror, that bloodletting will continue?

This prospect is rejected by all who want an end to fighting in Afghanistan. The newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES, reflecting the attitudes of broad public circles India, the great Asian country, writes that the U.S. should review its stand with regard to Afghanistan. And many leaders of non-aligned countries, who gathered for their forum in Belgrade, hold with full reason that Kabul's proposals enable real practical steps toward Afghan settlement.

Afghan Spokesman on Qandahar Supply Convoy

LD0609220989 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Kabul September 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

A news briefing, held at the Afghan Foreign Ministry on Wednesday, centred on the fate of a supply convoy, which had left Shishand for Qandahar a few days ago.

Afghan rebels, stationed in Pakistan, claim they destroyed 80 of more than 1,000 vehicles in the convoy.

Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman Muhammad Naqib told reporters that rebels had made several attempts to stop the convoy but the attacks had been repulsed.

The convoy's only losses were two food trucks and a tank, which rebels set on fire. Now the convoy is approaching Qandahar, the spokesman said.

On the situation in Khowst district, Naqib said that rebels now mainly bombard government troops positions and the city. Two soldiers and one civilian were killed in the attacks, and three children and six adults injured.

The spokesman noted the high morale of Khowst defenders. He said that about 130 rebels were killed and 200 injured over the last three days in artillery and air attacks.

In Alisher district, Afghan troops destroyed 45 rebels, 12 Pakistani and six Arab mercenaries and injured 80 rebels over the past day, Naqib said.

In the districts of Bekhsoud, Sheich-Mesry and Samarkheil of Nangarhar Province, 90 rebels were killed and 24 injured. A big amount of heavy guns and several arms depots were destroyed, he said.

Government troops, defending Jalalabad, have carried out several successful operations to eliminate seats of resistance in the province's other districts as well.

VOA Accused of Spreading 'Rumor' on Afghanistan

OW0109091389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Solton commentary]

[Text] Listener friends, the Voice of America [VOA] has broadcast a piece of news, alleging that Soviet aircraft, taking off from Soviet airfields, bombed rebel bases in Afghanistan, and that Soviet artillery also shelled the Afghan rebels from Soviet soil. In a commentary, our station reporter Soltan says:

I think there are many VOA news correspondents among the Afghan rebels, but this time VOA quoted a certain person in the Afghan resistance forces. VOA, after all, is a state organ. I think its leaders will feel embarassed. Anyway, they have tried their best to shirk their responsibility for spreading the rumor. This is a lie, of course. This method of spreading rumors is not new; it is a common occurrence. The real matter does not lie in the fact that VOA has put out a piece of false news.

Whenever the Afghan rebels are defeated on the battlefield, they spread rumors alleging that the battle was fought by Soviet troops, not Afghan soldiers. When the forces of the opposition were defeated in Jalalabad, they spread a similar rumor. Today, when the opposition forces met with setbacks in their attack on Khowst, they again dished out a false report.

The people who supply the opposition with materials and weapons have refused to admit that the People's Army of Afghanistan has the strength to cope with the enemy. They have also refused to admit that the opposition is weak politically and militarily. To admit this point is tantamount to admitting their mistakes, or admitting that it is impossible for the rebels to overthrow the Kabul Government. Obviously, the U.S. Government is not being objective on this point. Similarly, the U.S. leaders made a subjective calculation during the initial stage of sending troops to Vietnam.

The British newspaper "THE INDEPENDENT" published a series of reports on the situation in Afghan, pointing out it is time for the enemies of the Najibullah government to accept the government's peace proposal. This is very reasonable. More and more people in the West now share this viewpoint, and there are such people in the United States. Only the U.S. Government is still stubborn. The U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee in September will examine the question of providing comprehensive aid to the antigovernment forces in Afghanistan. It is possible that U.S. Senators may make a correct policy decision. This will be favorable to the cessation of bloodshed in Afghanistan. Will the U.S. Senators try not to let this opportunity slip?

Pakistan Aids U.S. Against Afghanistan

PM3108091989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Observer's Opinion" under the general heading "Pakistan—Springboard for Aggression"]

[Text] There continues to be no peace in the long-suffering land of Afghanistan. Blood continues to be shed and innocent people continue to be killed there. The armed opposition, rejecting Kabul's new peace proposals as presented by President Najibullah, continues to stake everything on a military solution to the conflict. Although, it would seem, it is high time to realize that there can be no military solution to the problem, and that we need to get round the negotiating table and reach acceptable solutions.

After the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan the "hard-liners" and their patrons were counting on a speedy victory over the Kabul government. But it was not to be. The government forces confirmed their combat capability and steadfastness, inflicting very tangible blows against the insurgents, above all, at Jalalabad and in the Khowst region. Then the extremists decided to vent their wrath on the civilian population, increasing their shelling of the country's cities. And literally the other day the opposition formations started using for the first time the new so-called cluster missile with a range of up to 60 km, which has already led to a considerable increase in the number of Afghan civilian casualties. Official Afghan organs are stressing that the "hard-liners" are obtaining these missiles from U.S. arsenals.

A report filed from the Afghan capital by the WASHINGTON POST correspondent is worth noting in this connection. He wrote that it is the belief of foreign diplomats in Kabul and representatives of the local intelligentsia that the insurgents' thirst for war and their cruelty are alienating Afghans from the antigovernment forces. There is one other cause: The insurgents' dependence on foreign states disturbs Afghan citizens.

These foreign states include the United States and Pakistan. Washington, although a guarantor of the Geneva accords, generously supplies the "hard-liners" with weapons and money. Although, as the Indian newspaper THE STATESMAN rightly stressed, shipments of new consignments of arms to the mujahidin can only increase the bloodshed in the country. Nonetheless, C. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has just visited Pakistan, reaffirmed at meetings with opposition ringleaders the Washington administration's readiness to continue giving them all possible assistance and support, thereby prolonging its armed interference in the affairs of sovereign Afghanistan. Moreover, the Washington emissary stated that the United States may increase shipments of arms and military hardware to an even higher level. In reply to a question on whether the U.S. Administration could supply the mujahidin with such complex arms as aircraft or tanks, C. Pell did not rule out this possibility in the event that "there is no other solution."

Supplies could, of course, be increased, but how could such quantities of military hardware be brought in? Enter center stage Pakistan, across whose territory virtually all the U.S. arms supplied to the "hard-liners" have to pass. But it should be noted that Pakistan's participation in the undeclared war against the Afghan people is not limited to this. Camps and bases where opposition detachments are trained and armed before being sent in to Afghanistan continue to operate on Pakistani territory, contrary to the Geneva accords. The Pakistanis themselves and citizens of other—mainly Arab—states take part in these raids. Incidentally, the number of such "volunteers" is constantly increasing, and they all infiltrate Afghanistan from Pakistani territory. Even Pakistani regular military units have been observed to take part on the mujahidin side in the fighting against government troops.

All these and many other facts show that Pakistan, through the efforts of certain circles of its own as well as through Washington's efforts, continues to claim the unenviable role of main springboard in the aggression against Afghanistan.

Pakistani Leaders Sympathetic on POW Issue

PM0109125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Soviet Parliamentarians' Appeal"]

[Text] Islamabad, 30 Aug—An appeal from the USSR Parliamentary Group Presidium to Pakistani members of parliament to provide help in freeing Soviet servicemen captured by the Afghan armed opposition has been handed over to the leaders of both chambers here.

Malik Khalid Meraj, speaker of the Pakistani National Assembly, stated on receiving the text of the appeal that he would inform all deputies in the lower house about the document's contents and would personally make every effort to mobilize them to actively participate in a humanitarian mission to free Soviet POW's. "People in Pakistan," he said, "sympathize with the Soviet people who have been captured by the mujahidin and understand the concern of their relatives and friends."

Senate Chairman Wasim Ahmed Sajjad said on accepting the text of the appeal that he felt close to and could understand the feelings of Soviet people worried about sons, brothers, and husbands held against their will by the armed opposition. He voiced the opinion that resolving the question of their liberation brooks no delay, since Soviet troops left Afghanistan 6 months ago now. Wasim Ahmed Sajjad pointed out that the Pakistani side has already provided assistance in freeing Soviet POW's and will continue to promote this. "Above all, it is important from the humanitarian standpoint," the senate chairman stressed, "and also because Pakistan is sincerely striving to develop good-neighborly relations with the USSR."

East Europe

Mazowiecki Cited on Importance of PZPR Support

PM0709092989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report under the general rubric "TASS, REUTER, and AFP Report": "T. Mazowiecki's Interview for TIME Magazine"]

[Text] T. Mazowiecki, the head of the Polish Government, declared in an interview to the U.S. weekly TIME that the political changes currently under way in the country would be impossible without the support of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], noting the important role which the reformist wing of the party has played in this process. Speaking about the situation in the country, the prime minister stressed that the people are getting impatient in connection with the goods shortages and rising prices and demand a rapid improvement in living standards. "Speedy help is what we urgently need now." Touching on the perestroyka in the USSR, Mazowiecki described M.S. Gorbachev as a "courageous and outstanding stateman," pointing out that the Soviet leader's policy has been a "very important factor" in the Polish experiment in democracy.

Polish Premier, Party Chiefs Discuss Government

PM0509141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Consultations Being Held"]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep—Within the framework of the consultations which T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, is holding in the process of forming a government, he has had a meeting with M. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, and M. Orzechowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the party deputies' club.

M. Rakowski told a PAP correspondent that the concept of the next government was submitted during the meeting. According to him, this concept is realistic and accords with the PZPR's ideas.

If this discussion is continued—and it will be continued—and the party gains a place in the country and in society in accordance with its political strength, as well as ministerial posts which will confirm this position, M. Rakowski emphasized, then the PZPR will have to take an active part in joint management and support all actions to overcome the economic and political crisis.

M. Orzechoswki pointed out that T. Mazowiecki's proposals accord with the thesis of the PZPR's involvement in government in keeping with its political potential, which would satisfy the expectations of ordinary party members.

Poland's Walesa Cited on Domestic, Bloc Reforms

PM0109111489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 35, 27 Aug 89 p 6

[Unattributed interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa; date, place not given: "Poland Today"]

[Text] MN: The situation in the world, especially in the eastern part of Europe, has undergone a fundamental change of late. What does the situation in Poland look like against this background? Does it follow the general tendency or is it a phenomenon taking its own course?

L.W.: I believe that the changes in Poland, while being part of a more general trend, are nevertheless independent to a certain extent. The crisis of the system is universal in its own way. Totalitarian, barrack-like communism has generated stagnation. Our countries have lagged behind in their development due to the system as such. Figuratively speaking, we're still riding bicycles while others are speeding ahead in modern cars. Democratic reforms are also vital because only they will enable us to keep pace with civilization. Modern technology imperatively calls for democratic reforms. And this is a common requirement of our countries: such is the common denominator of democratic proclivities in the USSR, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. But our coutries differ: they have different histories and their own intricate problems. Therefore our roads to democracy should also be different. A feature specific to Poland is the existence of the Solidarnosc (Solidarity) movement with its own dramatic record of nine years. Specific to Poland is the Catholic Church and the Pope who is a Pole. And, lastly, Poland's special hallmark is the roundtable (consensus) spirit making it possible to find a compromise between government and opposition.

MN: What do you think are the most salient features of the present situation in Poland? What problems facing society must be tackled first and foremost?

L.W.: The chief characteristic of the situation is a grave economic crisis. That is what's most important. We have not yet found effective means to overcome this crisis in practice. Theoretically we know that there's a need for a market economy, as this alone can set people's useful energy in motion. But is it possible, using old methods, to break the resistance of the bureaucratic machinery's conservative structures? More and more often I think that the situation calls for more radical action on our part.

MN: When it was in a position of illegal opposition, Solidarity emphasized criticism of the government's policy and the decisions it adopted to extricate the country from the crisis. What programme can Solidarity suggest now that it has become the legal opposition?

L.W.: For many years Solidarity has fought for a legal status and learned the difficult art of patience, has fought and learned underground and in jails. We criticized the government not for its decisions aimed at overcoming the crisis, but for its policy which rested on dictatorship and mediocrity. Today new times have come: Solidarity has legal structures—two national newspapers and regional publications—and it has representatives in the Sejm (parliament). I have always repeated that Solidarity means Reform. Reform drawing for support on pluralism in three spheres—in the trade union movement, in politics and in the economy. This is our positive programme, and with this programme Solidarity carried the day in parliamentary elections. Now for its realization we are trying to act in cooperation with other political forces.

MN: Is it true when they say that Poland has made a big stride forward during the period of democratization and pluralism? If so, what else, in your view, should be done along these lines?

L.W.: Yes, this is true. Now it would be advisable to form a government that meets the will of the electorate and to quickly appoint elections to local self-management bodies. Otherwise the conservative machinery of the local bureaucracy will wipe out the democratic and economic reforms.

MN: Judging by your statements, one can understand that the reform of the economy in the PPR [Polish People's Republic] lags behind the political reform. What specifically, in your view, does this gap consist of, and what methods should be used to close it?

L.W.: Political and economic reforms must be carried out in parallel. Otherwise sharp social tensions will arise. An example are the dramatic events in China where the lack of political reforms commensurate with changes in the economy ended in the tragedy in Tiananmen Square. In Poland, and maybe in the USSR, people have already felt the taste of freedom. Now they must feel the taste of fresh bread and ham. Pivotal to this is the success of the economic reform. The inadequate development of economic reforms may jeopardize the process of democratic restructuring. There is only one means for releasing human energy and business activity - the market. People must have the audacity to fight for the market, against the conservative machinery and the conservatism which is deeply rooted in us.

MN: It has been repeatedly said in the press that, following its victory in the parliamentary elections, Solidarity will be prepared to assume the full weight of responsibility for extricating Poland from the crisis. Is this really so?

L.W.: In my talks with General Jaruzelski, I said that Solidarity was prepared to form a government which, respecting all the allied commitments and internal realities, would assume responsibility for a reform of the state. The situation may not yet be ripe for this, but I think that such a prospect remains feasible.

MN: What is your personal attitude towards the perestroika currently underway in the Soviet Union?

L.W.: It's absolutely positive. I see your perestroika as a major impulse for the whole of the socialist bloc. I believe that this will have a good and durable impact on relations between our peoples.

MN: And what is your attitude towards the concept of a common European home?

L.W.: The common European home is an order under which every nation possesses full rights, and every country—full sovereignty. Great power diktat gives way to dialogue and cooperation. People can travel without passports because the foreign passport ceases being a limited privilege. The common European home is a fine idea, but we must advance towards it by promoting free cultural, commercial, trade union and political contacts, exchanges of people, ideas and goods, and by molding a high, although diversified, material civilization. The common European home is a goal which can be reached by opening frontiers instead of bolting gates or surrounding a country with barbed wire. I would liky my children to live in such a home.

CSSR Official in USSR on Working Visit

Discusses Prospects With Slyunkov

LD0609210389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Ivan Knotek, Presidium member and Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee secretary, who is on 1-day working visit to the Soviet Union, held talks with Nikolay Slyunkov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. They briefed each other on their countries' topical political and economic situation and assessed the present situation and prospectives of mutual economic and trade cooperation. Ivan Knotek and Nikolay Slyunkov also spoke about possibilities of improving relations between the CEMA countries and spoke in favor of effective forms of integration relations, including production-sharing between enterprises.

Completes Visit, Departs

LD0609210689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Ivan Knotek, Presidium member and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee secretary, this evening ended his 1-day working visit to the Soviet Union and departed for Czechoslovakia by air. [passage omitted]

Mazurov Reflects on 1968 Events in CSSR

LD0509150389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1905 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Interview with Kiril Mazurov, former CPSU Politburo member, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Panorama" program; date and place not given—recorded; Mazurov speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Presenter] Soviet people who as soldiers took part personally in the military occupation of Czechoslovakia [in 1968], now tell the truth about what happened as they see it. We will hear Kiril Mazurov who, as a former member of the CPSU Politburo, on a secret mission under the pseudonym General Trofimov, from Prague directed the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact troops.

[Mazurov] I was 44 at the time, a lieutenant colonel. We officers and soldiers were all convinced that our entry was justified, that we were right.

All the commands were signed in the name of Gen Trofimov. I myself also made telephone calls in the name of Gen Trofimov, who never really existed. It was a cover name When I gave commands over the telephone nobody knew who I really was. Around that time I was ordered to Moscow because in my reports they could not find even a trace of words on armed counterrevolution and base machinations. I told them I wrote about what I saw.

We were advancing in a rapid, forced march. We had no contact whatever with the population. Some of those standing along the way shouted: Go march against the Germans. They when they realized what was really happening.... Why against the Germans? They thought that at first; they thought we were marching against the Germans. The men ran out into the street in pajamas, the women in nightclothes with curlers in their hair. In Czechoslovakia it is indecent for women to go out into the street dressed like that. It was shocking. They shouted: What has happened? What has happened?

The substantive author of the decision was not Brezhnev or some other potentate of our party. The leaders of all the Warsaw Pact member states decided jointly on the entry. The main roles were played by Gomulka and Ulbricht. The two of them insisted on soldiers entering Czechoslovakia. Let us not forget something else. Those people in the army who died in the course of the Warsaw Pact military maneuvers, which lasted several months, were pronounced victims of the so-called internationalist assistance. What a disgusting lie.

Obviously, in 1968, a Soviet officer would have been pronounced mad if he had stood up and said: This assistance is a harmful action against the peoples living in Czechoslovakia.

I told my family then: I am going to Kirghizia. Do not worry.

[Correspondent] What was your task in Kirghizia?

[Mazurov] It was my job to see that our troops did not get caught up in battle. This was one of my tasks. The other was to look for people with the capacity for leadership, who would be able to master the events. We found such a man. We sought him out. We fetched him. We talked to him. Afterward, on board my plane, we sent him to Moscow. His name was Gustav Husak.

Up until now, in our archives we have found no proof of this whatever. To me it seems there is a direct connection between Prague in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979. When they decided to send troops into Afghanistan, no doubt they also took the Czechoslovak experience into consideration. If today a situation arose such as the one in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, in my view there would be no intervention. No one among our present leadership would even think of such a thing. At that time, however, it seemed quite normal.

Looked at from a historical perspective, everything that happened in 1968 in Czechoslovakia was the first experiment at transition, so that from the totalitarian barracks model of sham socialism, something new could come into being, which the Czechoslovaks, very appositely, called socialism with a human face. In the Moscow Socialist World Economy Research Institute they have compared the 1968 Czechoslovak action program with the decisions of our latest, 19th, party conference. Ninety percent agree that there exists, evidently, some kind of gentleman's agreement.

[Correspondent] Between whom?

[Mazurov] Betwen our leadership and the Czechoslovak leadership. There is evidently some kind of tacit agreement which prohibits us from speaking about this unpleasant topic. Because, as the saying goes, in the house of of a hanged man it is not seemly to talk about the rope.

Now that Brezhnev, Chernenko, and Suslov are dead, and Ulbricht also, and Gomulka and Kadar have departed, only the Czechoslovak party leaders are not interested in evoking the events of 1968. After all, it was then that they came to power.

Our leadership is visibly refraining from taking an open stand and the press is also sticking to this. Obviously not to push the present Czechoslovak leadership into the corner.

In the Soviet Union today, right up until last year, it was absolutely impossible to get anything published from the sphere of topics relating to the 1968 Czechoslovak events. Even today the possibilities are very limited. Our leaders feel committed to the Czechoslovak leadership. They do not want to make their lives even more difficult and there would be no sense in this either. One can not understand why the Soviet intelligentsia is keeping quiet. Our government naturally has the right to express its own stance. But the democratically, free-thinking intelligentsia should make use of its right to express an opinion independently of the government. I believe they are planning to hold the Central Committee plenum in Prague this autumn. In my view the old guard, without any special fuss, should step down from the stage of politics. I know a good number of the politicians of the old guard personally, and I know that 1968 causes them a lot of regret.

[Correspondent] What do you think? How many USSR people's deputies agree with you in regard to 1968?

[Mazurov] It is hard to say. I think at least one-third of them, with some reservations.

MSZMP 'Circles' Urge End to 'Stalinist Model'

PM0709093189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report under the general rubric: "TASS, REUTER, and AFP Report": "Renouncing the Stalinist Model Once and for All"]

[Text] Partipants in the second nationwide conference of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] reform circles which was held in Budapest adopted a letter to members of the party and delegates to the upcoming MSZMP Congress. "The reform circles favor the creation of a party which would renounce bureaucratic centralization since state socialism and the state party have led the country into a historical impasse," the letter says. "It is necessary to renounce once and for all the Stalinist model which leads to catastrophe."

USSR's Laverov Speaks at Leipzig Autumn Fair

LD0309205989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The path taken by the GDR over the past decades clearly demonstrates the advantage of socialism, said Nikolay Laverov, head of the Soviet Government delegation to the Leipzig autumn fair, referring to the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the state. "The GDR today is a stable, dynamically developing state with a modern industry and agriculture, a progressive science and culture, and a high standard of living for the population. Under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] the GDR working people are tackling the steady perfection of their society, seeking answers to newly emerging problems, and making their contribution to the strengthening of world socialism," he said at the end of the fair walkabout by the GDR party and state leadership in the Soviet pavillion.

"The peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR are linked by unshakable friendship and common ideals. Our countries are the most important partners for each other in economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other relations. A inalterable principle of our policy is the strengthening and development of all-round fraternal relations with the GDR, which become more mature with each year, and are marked by even greater practicality and enriched with new political and economic content. Through the creative application of the principles of scientific socialism, (?the SED introduced) its rich, multilateral experiences of everyday life into the construction of a new society, and it is enriching this new society with its own experience. A continual exchange of experiences on socialist construction and the application of its results, while reflecting national characteristics, plays a large role in the further perfection and increase of efficiency in cooperation and opened up broad perspectives for further progress. [no close quotation mark as received]

Laverov described the agreements concluded by Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker during their meetings as the beginning of a new stage in economic cooperation between the USSR and the GDR, in which the stability of trade, the perfection of its structures, and the search for mutually acceptable solutions to difficult problems and the development of new forms of cooperation must play a substantially larger role.

The Soviet Union devotes considerable attention to the conversion of the defense industry. For this reason, the great scope provided by the application of high technology in the economy, which has been created and implemented in the missile and space industry, were shown for the first time at this fair.

"The process of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the SED's policy of continuity and renewal create favorable preconditions for the further strengthening and raising of the efficiency of political and economic cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in the international arena. The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies represented a challenging program of revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and stipulated the main points of emphasis for basic economic reforms. The changes taking place in the USSR lie not only in democratization and openness, in the [word indistinct] the Leninist humanitarian profile of socialism, but also in the new political thinking, which results from the impossibility of a military solution to international contradictions and unconditional recognition of the fact that the only path to the security of states and the entire world is the path of political solutions, of disarmament, and of constructing a nuclear weapons-free and nonviolent world," said the head of the government delegation.

"The new political thinking has made it possible to guarantee massive positive advances in international relations and to put in motion an intensive negotiating processed (?accompanied by) important practical results. The joint efforts of the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces have made it possible to reduce the danger of war. The emphasis in international life is shifting from confrontation to cooperation and mutual understanding. All this is the result of a switch to a greater use of political means in guaranteeing the security of states, is the result of a series of great, interconnected, and consistent foreign policy initiatives by the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist countries, Nikolay Laverov added.

The USSR attaches great importance to the GDR contribution to the general process of improving the situation in the world and has a high regard for its role in the Warsaw Pact, its initiatives in reshaping Europe into a continent of peace and cooperation, as well as its contribution to the Helsinki process. Side by side with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the GDR actively supports disarmament and the prevention of a war, and is developing great foreign policy initiatives. "Our joint policy for the establishment of a common European home, which rests on respect for the social order chosen by the people and the unshakeable nature of the existing political realities, serves the goals of insuring a secure peace."

Romanian Leaders Send Thanks for Greetings

PM0309181589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message of thanks from Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu "To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades,

On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Romanian people, and on our own account, we convey to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, all the peoples of the Soviet Union, and you personally warm gratitude for the cordial congratulations conveyed to us on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the 23 August 1944 antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation.

We are gratified that Soviet-Romanian relations, based on the principles of full equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit are constantly developing in the spirit of the accords reached at the highest level and the provisions of the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty in the interests of the Romanian and Soviet peoples and the cause of socialism, peace, and progress throughout the world.

We are convinced that by their consistent foreign policy the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR, together with the Warsaw Pact states and other socialist countries, will make an increasingly significant contribution to strengthening peace and security, implementing disarmament, and developing cooperation among the peoples.

We take this opportunity to convey to you and to the Communists and all working people of the USSR wishes for new successes in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th Congress and 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania Government

SFRY Defense Secretary to Visit USSR

LD0609162189 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Yugoslav Federal Secretary for National Defence Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in the second decade of September at the invitation of Soviet Defence Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov.

West Europe

FRG Leader's Message to Poland on WWII Viewed

PM0509140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Yevgeniy Grigoryev "Correspondent's Comment": "Harsh Truth"]

[Text] Bonn—This is perhaps the first time that the start of World War II has been marked on such a large political, journalistic, and public scale. There has been an unusually large number of diverse events organized by trade unions, peace movements, parties, and organizations nationwide to mark the antiwar day. This was not just the result of the 'jubilee' 50th anniversary of the tragedy. The watershed times in which we are living and the new thinking prompt us to rethink the at times harsh historical truth, and to draw from it abiding conclusions for the future.

Important words were spoken a few days ago by FRG Federal President Richard Weizsaecker. They were contained in a message to Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic.

The message notes that Poland was the first victim of the war launched by Germany's national-socialist leadership. This leadership's responsibility for starting the war is in no way diminished either by the German-Polish tension existing at the time or by the cynical Hitler-Stalin pact. It alone launched an aggressive war, scornful of mankind, international law, and the arguments of mutual understanding.

Weizsaecker's message, although addressed to Warsaw, does not lack domestic political importance. Let us recall that the "1 September theme" was virtually banned in the FRG during the first postwar decades. This is why the overcoming of the past took such a long time to materialize. Certain circles, primarily the stratum of current affairs writers whose minds are always on the past, also made active efforts in connection with this year's anniversary, trying to confuse public opinion. This was the reason why some sort of medicine man's dance was organized around the 1939 Soviet-German treaty. Some people obviously wished to cover up the main facts and truths. It was, incidentally, the representatives of just such circles who immediately pounced on the FRG president's message. The most peremptory action was taken by the rightwing radical Republican Party whose ruling clique, as one Bonn figure remarked, thus proved anew its neo-Nazi nature. Leaders of the revanchist "League of Expellees," who in party terms represent the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, did not refrain from attacks either.

Of course, the federal president's message on the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II does not resolve all problems in the FRG associated with the past and with history. As FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU remarked, some passages lend themselves to dual interpretation. It was, however, no accident that, generally speaking, the message was welcomed positively by broad political and social circles in the country. It is actually impressive with its considered historical judgments and its main conclusions derived from the tragic lesson of history.

There is no denying Weizsaecker's political flair and definite courage, bearing in mind the still extant opposition to the historical truth in the FRG. Let me add that the message compares favorably with the attempts by some conservative camp figures like N. Bluem, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union and FRG minister of labor, who sneaked into Poland a few days ago to organize unworthy shows there, partly even in an anti-Soviet and anticommunist spirit, probably assuming that this would boost his standing at the forthcoming elections.

Life has proved that it is not easy to study and accept history. Even now, one can notice in certain West German political publications some hardly containable dreams to "peacefully" fight the war again, to erase the Soviet people's liberation feat in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism and aggression, and even to "dismantle" the Soviet state and the socialist community. There can be no doubt, however, that the overwhelming proportion of the FRG population will not accept any adventurist ideas. Half a century later this observer can say with certainty that the public awareness and mood predominant in this country are conditioned by the precept "Never again a war," and by the desire for good-neighborliness and cooperation in a common European home. A symbol of this is provided by the annual ceremony in the former concentration camp in Stuckenbrock. Once again this Saturday 50,000 flowers will be laid on the 50,000 graves of Soviet people who were the victims of fascism and war and fighters against fascism and war for Europe's peaceful future.

Sweden's Andersson Comments on Baltic Republics

PM0709093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report under general rubric "TASS, REUTER, and AFP Report": "Swedish Minister on the Situation in the Baltic Republics"]

[Text] Swedish Foreign Affairs Minister Andersson has said in an interview to the Swedish telegraph bureau that the development of events in the Baltic republics is a highly sensitive affair as far as Sweden is concerned. In his opinion, the country's government and political parties must proceed with great caution in this question. "The aspirations to freedom in the Baltic republics must not develop too fast; demands which go too far should not be put forward. I assume that the Soviet leadership is interested in the Baltic republics' obtaining greater economic freedom and being able to show that perestroyka is producing results," the minister noted.

Finnish Vessel Strikes, Sinks Trawler

LD0609122789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep (TASS)—The Soviet trawler "Ladushkin" has sunk in the Baltic Sea. It was hit by the Finnish tanker "Tebostar."

The disaster took place at 0145 Moscow time today near the island of Gotland, where the trawler operated as part of a fishing expedition. The crews of the "Ladushkin" and the trawler "Matrosovo" were fishing together. Radio messages give the following picture of the disaster: There was fine weather in the region, visibility was good. All signal lights were on on the trawlers. Late at night when the crews, apart from those on watch, were having a rest, a 110-meter-long tanker hit the "Ladushkin" at great speed. The damage was so great that the trawler sank within minutes at a depth of about 50 meters.

So far, of the 15 crew members only the radio communications chief has been found. He was taken by helicopter to Sweden where he died without regaining consciousness. An intensive search for the other fishermen is now under way; 10 ships of the expedition are taking part in it. The Soviet side has asked Sweden to allow divers to examine the sunken ship and to raise the bodies of those who died, if they are found.

Primakov Talks With Howe, Eberlie in London

LD0509204789 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] London September 5 TASS—Chairman of the Council of the Union of the Soviet Parliament Yevgeniy Primakov, who is now heading a Soviet delegation to the jubilee session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in London, met today with British Deputy Prime Minister Geoffrey Howe, who is also leader of the House of Commons of the British Parliament.

During the meeting a lively talk centered on the influence of perestroika in the Soviet Union on international relations. Primakov and Howe also discussed a number of questions concerning East-West relations and disarmament.

Later in the day, Primakov met Director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs James Eberlie. Their conversation touched upon the course and perespectives of reforms in the Soviet Union, some aspects of the complex disarmament issue and the development of political and economic tendencies in Europe.

Primakov and Eberlie agreed that an expansion of the East-West dialogue and a substantial enrichment of the on-going international negotiations with concrete matters are important positive signs showing that principles of new political thinking are taking firm root in international practice.

The head of the Soviet delegation spoke about the guidelines of perestroika in the Soviet Union, the new Soviet approaches toward various international issues.

He was informed of the main objectives of the activity of the Royal Institute, of the assessment of, and prognosis for the development of world processes by the experts of this important Western research centre specialising in the study of military and political problems.

Turkish Envoy Gives Briefing on Bilateral Ties

LD0509192989 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Soviet-Turkish relations are currently undergoing a dynamic period of development. There are no significant political issues on which the USSR and Turkey have friction, said Turkish ambassador Volkan Vural.

Speaking at a briefing for Soviet journalists at the Turkish Embassy today, he said that owing to the widening of economic ties between the Soviet Union and Turkey, the two countries' trade turnover will increase to one billion American dollars. He expressed the conviction that the trade turnover could reach two billion American dollars already in the near future. For the first time Turkish firms work on several projects in Moscow and other regions of the USSR. The Turkish side, the ambassador said, is interested in cooperation with the Soviet Union on creating joint enterprises, developing transport, communications. Developing border trade is given great importance, he said. Negotiations are under way to develop trade links not only with the neighbouring republics in Transcaucasia but also with the Ukraine and Russia.

The Soviet Union and Turkey could successfully cooperate in third countries as well, the Turkish ambassador said. Cultural and human relations between the two neighbouring states also develop dynamically.

Turkey believes that increasing contacts between the representatives of the USSR and Turkey, including heads of state and government, diplomats and parliamentarians will help further develop all-round relations and become a positive factor for the cause of peace and stability in the region.

Speaking about the foreign policy activity of the Turkish Government, Volkan Vural stressed that Turkey seeks to have good relations with all countries of the world, primarily, with its neighbours. In this connection, he said, the development of Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union has a very great significance.

Latin America & Caribbean

Bush Speech Followed by Explosions in Colombia

OW0609192889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Three strong explosions occurred last night in Medellin, a drug trafficking center in Colombia.

At least five people, including journalists and a television camera crew, were wounded. Two bank buildings and a restaurant were seriously damaged.

The explosions occurred following the televised speech by U.S. President Bush on his new antinarcotics plan.

Gorbachev Sends Message to Castro on Air Crash

LD0509134889 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has expressed his sincere condolences to Cuban leader Fidel Castro in connection with the recent air crash in Cuba, which resulted in loss of life.

Gorbachev asked Castro to convey his condolences to the relatives and friends of the victims.

Venezuela's Perez Cited on Panama Situation

LD0609211589 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade September 7 TASS—President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela expressed his profound anxiety over the situation in Panama, at a press conference here Wednesday.

This anxiety does exist, despite the assurances he has received from U.S. President George Bush and other ranking U.S. officials that the United States would not launch an armed intervention in Panama. They have resolutely rejected such a possibility, Perez said.

In his words the situation in Panama may deteriorate from January 1 when under the Torrijos-Carter treaty, the commission managing the Panama Canal will be headed by the Panamanian president. Since the United States does not recognize the present provisional government of Panama, this may lead to a violation of the treaty on whose observance, as Perez said, the whole of Latin America insists.

Venezuela and other Latin American countries, the president said, continue their efforts to create conditions necessary to hold democratic elections in Panama before the year is out.

Perez expressed his conviction that the present Belgrade forum of non-aligned nations would lead not only to a revival of the Non-Aligned Movement but also to the revival of the activity of the Group of 77 and of regional organisations of the Third World.

Shevardnadze Greets New Venezuelan Counterpart

LD0609103589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0907 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has sent Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart a telegram of congratulations in connection with his appointment as foreign minister of the Republic of Venezuela and has expressed the hope that the friendly relations which have formed between the USSR and Venezuela will be further developed in the interest of the two countries and of the consolidation of peace and international cooperation.

A message Reinaldo Figueredo addressed to Eduard Shevardnadze stresses his intention of promoting the development of Soviet-Venezuelan ties, as well as of acting in the interests of ensuring a better future for the peoples of the world and of deepening universal mutual understanding.

Political & Social

USSR Urges International Cooperation Against Drugs

LD0609211389 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Here follows a commentary under the title "The United States declares war on trading in drugs": U.S. President Bush announced in his television speech on Tuesday a strategic plan to combat trade in and addiction to drugs, which the U.S. President sees as posing a basic threat to U.S. national security.

The U.S. Administration intends to ask Congress for some $8 billion in the new budget to implement this plan. In the meantime, large-scale measures will be taken against the drugs mafia which is found outside the United States, particularly in South American countries.

Our analyst (Spartak Aleksiy) writes: Drugs trafficking, which has spread worldwide, is considered among the major crimes of this century. The struggle against the drugs mafia is characterized by the use of large-scale military operations. One finds that not only police, Interpol, customs officers, coastguards, intelligence services, and counterintelligence services have joined the military operations against the trade in drugs, but also the regimes' troops are likewise involved. U.S. President George Bush expressed his confidence in winning the war against the drugs trade. However, U.S. papers state that past experience, including Bush's experience, do not provide wide scope for optimism.

Inside the United States, only one drug consignment in 15 is seized. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that a war against the drugs mafia requires huge, long-term efforts on various fronts from governments and international social circles. International cooperation on this difficult issue is also required, obviously.

Secret channels for drugs trafficking go through the Soviet Union as well. The Soviet Union shares the anxiety of other governments and expresses its readiness to widen cooperation in combatting the crime of the 20th century.

Son-in-Law Discusses Khrushchev, Perestroyka

LD0609132789 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 33, 17-23 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Aleksey Adzhubey, former editor of IZVESTIYA, by GIMTASIS KRASTAS correspondent Algis Petrulis; date, place not specified: "Can an Empire Be Progressive?"]

[Text] There has been a conversation between a GIMTASIS KRASTAS correspondent and N. Khrushchev's son-in-law, Aleksey Adzhubey, an active participant in the "thaw" epoch.

Aleksey Adzhubey used to be editor of IZVESTIYA. Lithuanian readers have had the opportunity to become acquainted with him through excerpts from his book of memoirs, "Those Ten Years," which has been published in VAKARINES NAUJIENOS [EVENING NEWS]. During the ongoing restructuring process begun by M. Gorbachev we are often reminded of the "thaw" or "melting" period related to N. Khrushchev. The first attempt at restructuring was unsuccessful.

[Petrulis] You did not simply play a statistical role in N. Khrushchev's policy. The reasons for the failure of ideas of the 20th congress are better known by you than by anyone else. Can N. Khrushchev alone be blamed for the failures?

[Adzhubey] The breadth of the 20th congress could be felt until 1960. Later, those processes began to fade. The cleansing away of Stalinism proceeded in a contradictory fashion. Unfortunately, it diminished further and further. Why did this happen? In my opinion, society at that time and N. Khrushchev personally failed to understand that it was necessary to overcome Stalinism, not Stalin. The democratic development of our state would only be possible if the system established by Stalin over the period of many years could be vanquished. That is why, it is [not] possible to blame...one individual. We are also to blame. N. Khrushchev, as state leader, and I, as IZVESTIYA editor. For instance, I can be blamed for the fact that we criticized Erenburg for his book "People, Years, Life." Those who have worked with the press know an editor is sometimes unable to publish one piece of writing, or another. The newspaper belongs to the party organs, after all. Although we did publish Tvardovskiy's poem. We were also the first to publish Raskolnikov's letter to Stalin. Having been currently published once more, it created a great sensation. Yet we did that back in 1961. The tragedy of our time rested in the fact that neither Khrushchev nor his associates moved the "lower strata." Restructuring was attempted only in the upper echelons. The process did move intuitively, however. De-stalinization of the community of socialist countries did take place. We referred, for the first time, to the socialist community rather than to the "socialist camp." The label of "with the Soviet Union at the forefront," was being relinquished. Changes did take place. They took place under conditions of constant confrontation. We had to retreat. Even now, after so many years have elapsed, these processes pick their way through such difficult obstacles. Changes are possible when a revolution takes place within the consciousness of millions.

[Petrulis] I would support your statement only in the event the USSR were a democratic state. Let us remember the state leaders—not a single one arrived without the Army or Security Committee's support. In like fashion, not one of them has been unseated without their support.

[Adzhubey] That is nonsense. Neither the Security Committee nor the Army, take part in any political activity.

We have a rather powerful party system, capable of solving all problems, without assistance from the Army or the KGB [Committee For State Security]. Lithuanian journalists have a primitive understanding of USSR political processes. Those, which is happening now,—are global processes. They are not decided by separate individuals. Do you read the union press? You must read it. Begin with Marx and Lenin.

[Petrulis] If you wish to return to history, let us recall certain facts.

Are you saying, mass movements determine everything?

[Adzhubey] Yes, that is true.

[Petrulis] Yet, in 1917, 15 thousand revolutionaries were able to seize power. However, Bolsheviks received barely 20 percent of the vote, in the democratic elections, held prior to that.

[Adzhubey] However, that ensured the seizure of power?

[Petrulis] It was "seized," indeed.

[Adzhubey] I would like to turn my attention, once more, to the "thaw" period. When did the decisive break occur? Ideological pressure began to be felt, as soon as, the economy began to limp. Let us recall the well-known, in Lithuania, Suslov. Attacks against national holidays and leader displacements. That was a practice characteristic of the times. Rudiments of ideological pressure must be looked for in government lobbies. In order to attain its goals, restructuring opposition made use of N. Khrushchev himself. After all, he himself was Stalin's protege. Not the closest one, but a protege, nevertheless. Stalin discovered him in 1930. Provided a refuge for him. Followed his career. They were not the closest of associates. Perhaps, this is the reason, Khrushchev's hands were not as stained with blood, as those of the others. Although, Khrushchev himself had stated, that all those, close to Stalin, must be punished. All of them. According to their crimes only, since the seriousness of the crimes differed. Berya's and Malenkov's crimes were one thing, whereas Khrushchev's and Bulganin's were something else. Currently, accusations are made, they shot innocent people. N. Khrushchev told me, he took part in Bukharin's elimination process. They believed everything. They believed, Torres, Togliaty, Dolores Ibaruri. These were politicians who had experienced a lot. I had a meeting with Togliaty in 1962. We spent the entire night discussing this. He told me he could not comprehend it to that day. He recalled some details of the process, not comprehending how this spectacle could have been believed. Let us set this subject aside.

The nationalist witch hunt, which began in 1961, was not limited to the Baltics alone. Similar events were also taking place in the Ukraine. Even First Secretary Shelest was dismissed from his post there. He had been the author of several books on the Cossacks and Ukrainian historical problems. The books were prohibited. Suslov began persecuting Shelest in 1965.

We felt a thaw had begun. There was nothing we could do, however. We ourselves were, as yet, unprepared too accept much. It is a very complicated process. Two years ago when my wife gave me to read "Arbat's Children," followed by Grosman's "Life And Destiny," I told her these would not be published. What do you expect! Even as recently as two years ago I did not believe this. In spite of the fact, I consider myself a 20th congress individual; I had that inner censor within me.

[Petrulis] People of our Republic are astounded by the dogmatized view, preconceived notions and nationalist labeling, of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies majority. What opinion do the Muscovites themselves have of such deputies?

[Adzhubey] I am also shocked by the so-called "majority." However, would the situation be better if M. Gorbachev were unable to control this majority? If it was against M. Gorbachev himself?

Currently, many oppose M. Gorbachev; that is why a hundred candidates were elected out of a possible hundred, in elections organized by the party itself. Supposedly, that is an election farce! I would like to ask those people: what if there had been 110 candidates? Is it not obvious to you, who would have been cancelled out? Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, and Ryzhkov would have been cancelled out. It was a secret ballot, after all.

[Petrulis] What is your opinion of the Baltic national movements?

[Adzhubey] I have visited Lithuania, more than once. I am acquainted with former TIESA editor, A. Laurinciukas. He is probably aligned with the conservatives?

[Petrulis] He was not known for his radicalism, while he was editor of TIESA. Currently—he is loyal to the rebirth process.

[Adzhubey]—What can one do—that was his job. Let us return to your question, however. I am interested in the Baltic national movements. It would be considerably more useful, however, if your movements were democratic, rather than nationalistic. Not just for themselves, not just for satisfaction of their own interests, but for a much wider area of interests. I seldom hear this. You demand democracy, only for yourselves and the right to solve just your own problems. Where does this Baltic characteristic of exclusive self-concern stem from?! It is as if, events in other republics do not concern you. That is not good. Let us leave out the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. It is a historical fact. You have been part of the federation, for several decades. Now, let us consider the flags. Several veterans call me from Estonia: they say a bourgeois flag has been hoisted. I tell them, that is not any wonder, it is their flag. All sorts of things happened under the red flag, after all. Repressions had taken place, under a red flag and Pol Pot bandits acted under a red flag. Is the essence to be found within the flag? What lies hidden behind that? Again, a dig at a neighbor who is himself in the throes of a tortuous restructuring. We want you to understand that we are also for this. Let us seek it together, however.

[Petrulis] If I were an opponent of yours, I would tell you, it is a characteristic of the Russian nation to call for union under the flag of world revolution.

[Adzhubey] That is totally absurd!

[Petrulis] What is your opinion of the announced state languages in the Baltic Republics?

[Adzhubey] That is totally just. In visiting France, I either speak French, or I converse in sign language. There exists another aspect, however. India, for example. An English colony. Everyone speaks English. All those, who want to establish themselves. You can only speak Lithuanian. Should there happen to be a talented scientist working among you who doesn't speak Lithuanian, don't talk to him. It's your business. You are going to lose out considerably, though. There must exist a language for international relations. You know, the amalgamation of national cultures and talents produces a great effect. Indeed, a very great effect! What beautiful women the Orientals are when they come from mixed families.

[Petrulis] How do you view the Baltic republics' ideas of independence?

[Adzhubey] There is a constitutional basis for this. It is the people's business. This question must not be considered, however, outside the context of the entire federation. Who will you go with, without us? With a 30 quintals productivity? Do you realize you will have to work as they do in Europe? You think you will simply elect a new government, cast new seals, and that will be the extent of it? You are just interested in leaving. Slamming the door. Renouncing common renewal to float on a ferry, in unfamiliar waters. Fellows, stop to consider what that will bring you? I visited Finland, recently following a 25-year absence. The impression was collosal. I asked a friend, however, whose mother lives there, why he does not stay in Finland.

You know how he replied? "I can't work like that. This society requires work." Lithuania has always tended toward Russia. Russia has always oppressed it, but it always sought its salvation—only there, nevertheless. This, in spite of tsarist oppression! Well then, do you want to go along with the Germans, again?

[Petrulis] We did not tend toward Russia, but Russia manifested an interest in us. Moreover, why should Lithuania go along with anyone? Can't it be independent?

[Adzhubey] I was explaining to you, this is a sign of the times. Why are you putting on a pretense? Global economy is maturing, after all. I am not saying that you will bow before H. Kohl tomorrow. All of Europe is seeking integration. You are playing provocateur with me. There were two subjects which did not evoke the approval of Moscow's intelligentsia at the last congress: when your deputy put down his madate and when the Lithuanian delegation left the hall in protest. We thought, they will slam the door for good. Thank God this did not happen.

[Petrulis] According to information received by us, this was the opinion of only a small segment of Moscow intelligentsia; also, such an opinion works out in favor of Lithuania. But let us not argue. The "thaw" process perished. Is the present restructuring threatened by a similar fate?

[Adzhubey] I have seen a lot. We now have a leader who in four years has accomplished a gigantic task. Oh, the forces he is up against, however! Vast changes have taken place. You have M. Gorbachev's statement, that there exist matters, which are higher than classic disagreements. Unsolved problems abound, however. Don't tell me you don't sense this in your republic? The threat exists, not just against your ambitions, however, but against the hopes of us all. What then, don't you understand that? This is why I consider all those "camera" movements a stab in the back. Have the events in Georgia not taught you a lesson, yet? How about the Chinese example? A politician must be circumspect. These are not simple processes. Look at our leaders. In those years, Ryzhkov has turned grey; and what about Shevardnadze and Gorbachev? Do you wish, that after Gorbachev's overthrow, someone would get a more powerful hold on your throat? With an axe?

I am not trying to frighten you.
I am fearful myself.

Historian Draws Analogy Between 1964, Present

LD0509163289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1040 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Under the feature "Pages of History" there is, in my view, a most interesting publication by Yelena Yuryevna Zubkova, candidate of historical sciences and academic at the History of the USSR Institute of the country's Academy of Sciences. The article is called "October 1964—a Turning Point or a Coup?" The subtitle to this material defines its genre as polemic observations, therefore it is natural that I should begin my conversation with the author with the question raised in the subtitle—what actually happened nearly 25 years ago, a turning point or a coup? [passage omitted] Yelena Yuryevna, while recognizing, of course, the great scientific interest in this problem, let's say, purely from the theoretical point of view, I would like to ask you this question: How could this return be useful today in the narrowly practical sense? Another question: How can you explain such a keen interest today in the situation during 1964?

[Zubkova] Well, today's interest is, in purely human terms, understandable, since the tendency to historical analogies, all the more in the contemporary situation, can be traced very clearly in today's conditions. Added to this is the purely outward similarity, and in general, all of the current arguments about the possibility of a repetition or lack of a repetition of the situation of October 1964; all the arguements about high level coups—they all seem very topical at the present time. [passage omitted]

In my view there always exists a period when a political figure has a historically justified chance, provided by history, to gather momentum, to improvise, and so on. However, the transitional period must not be protracted. Let's take a look at our current situation, we are living in the conditions of perestroyka, we have already been in this transitional period for 4 years, and we are all experiencing how difficult it is.

[Presenter] Well, there has been an increase in social tension.

[Zubkova] Yes, social tension is gradually escalating, social apathy...

[Presenter interrupting] At the same time as this.

[Zubkova] There is an increase in conflict in our social life. So during those 10 years, as Krushchev's term of power is defined, he delayed. A transitional period that is protracted for a decade is not justified either from the social or the political point of view. This atmosphere then became a very favorable ground for stagnation. This must also be taken into account. So the main lesson of October 1964, I think, lies precisely in the fact that a transitional period cannot be protracted, one must not drag out over a period the period of implementing social programs, first and foremost.

[Presenter] If I ask you to compare the dynamics of the decisions being taken during that transitional 10 year period, and the current dynamics, which are higher?

[Zubkova] You see, I think that the level of contemporary decisions is in itself higher. The point doesn't even lie in dynamics. We are currently aiming at taking qualitative decisions, and this is a different level.

[Presenter] Well this, I think, can encourage us that the current transitional period won't be protracted for so long, and won't end so sadly.

[Zubkova] Well, political forcasts are always dangerous, although, it seems to me that, again, a remarkable lesson came out of October 1964. One must not leap directly from authoritarianism to democracy, some sort of interim systems are needed, a structure is needed, a constant choice has to be made. To move so immediately to democracy, our society....

[Presenter interrupting] It can't.

[Zubkova] ...could scarcely manage it. In fact, the formation of a new political structure is a complex period of balance of forces, a balance of interests. This is a period of moving along a knife edge, as it were—you can fall to the left or to the right. We have to have a very good idea of this.

Political Passions Rage in Tallinn

LD0109225389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Correspondent Igor Kudrin report from Tallinn]

[Excerpts] The weather in Tallinn has come as if to order. It is warm and sunny, and there is almost no wind. However, political passions are raging mightily. The newspapers are reporting on rallies and meetings being held by the supporters of two opposing organizations, the People's Front of Estonia and the Inter-movement. The stance of the USSR people's deputies from Estonia remains active and aggressive. Following yesterday's appeal to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, they have brought out a new document, a new appeal, addressed this time to the people of the Soviet Union and to their colleagues, the USSR people's deputies.

It is an unusual document, and I feel that in many respects it is debatable and gives rise to objections. What, for example, is the value of the proposition that the CPSU Central Committee is consciously exacerbating the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics? Another conclusion drawn by the deputies is also striking, concerning discrimination against small peoples and the threat of the elimination of the viability of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian nations.

By the way, while completely overlooking the activities of the Estonian Front, the deputies have for some reason taken the liberty of talking contemptuously of the so-called Inter-movement, casually accusing its activists—mainly Russian-speaking working people—of the most grievous sins. I find it difficult to tell the viewers how far that point of view held by the deputies corresponds to their voters' opinions. [Video shows Kudrin in a Tallinn street, holding a copy of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, featuring the deputies' appeal; scenes at newspaper stands] [passage omitted: The new school year is beginning; an Estonian school is holding an annual ceremony in the native language]

The whole city knows this school; [video shows school] it will soon be 110 years old. Once, the people of the city knew that educational establishment as the Peter the First modern school. Then, of course, the fashion for tsars passed. By the way, the inclination to rename things in Tallin exists to this day. Not so long ago, Victory Square turned suddenly into Liberty Square. One splendid, proud word of remembrance was changed for another, no less significant one, but the people of Tallinn now call the Oktyabr cinema, which is hidden away in the maze of old alleyways, the Helios. That is the way it is: We talk loudly about perestroyka, unmask those who try to torpedo it and call perestroyka a second revolution, while forgetting the first revolution, the main one. [passage omitted]

Estonian Law on Local Elections Re-Introduced

18001564 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the editorial commission, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Esteemed Deputies!

Two weeks ago at the first meeting of the present session we decided to interrupt the work of the session in order once again to discuss with our constituents and the public the draft law on elections to local soviets of people's deputies and develop the final variant, which corresponds to the aspirations of the people and is based on the political reality of Estonia. An editorial commission was elected to analyze the remarks expressed by the deputies at the session in order to take them into account during the development of the draft law. The work of the editorial commission turned out to be considerably broader than that. The interruption of the work of the session evoked an essentially new public discussion, during the course of which the demands became more radical. Thus during the recess in the work of the session the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet received 668 communications with 9,502 signatures. And there were only 29 communications against the adoption of the new law. The press also reacted actively! And there was an appreciable increase in the number of collective communications with more than one signature. The largest amount of debate was evoked by article 2 of the draft law which is devoted to the voter qualifications. The divergence of opinions on this issue was striking! On the one hand there were those who support the demands of the strike committees and the proposals published in the press not to have qualifications as such. This means to leave everything as it has been up to this point and essentially retain the old procedure for holding elections. On the other hand there were demands to establish a residency requirement of 10 years for voters and 20 years for elected officials.

There were also proposals that took the matter to the "logical absurd"—for example, I quote: "Should we not grant the right to vote to representatives of the Finnish and Polish working class who have been working here for years doing very high-quality work...." Many support the suggestion made by the Union of Estonian Labor Collectives that the right to vote actively should be given to Estonian citizens who have been living on the territory of the corresponding soviet for 3 years or in Estonia for 15 years, and the right to a passive vote should be given to citizens of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] for no less than 5 years and in Estonia for 15 years. During the course of the public discussion one could hear again and again the proposal to adhere to the requirements contained in the draft submitted at the first meeting, i.e. voters must have lived on the territory of the elected soviet for the past 2 years, and candidate deputies—5 years on the territory of the elected soviet or 10 years in Estonia. There were proposals not to limit the residency requirement in terms of time, granting the right to vote to all eligible citizens living on the territory of the elected soviet. But the residency requirements must be retained for candidate deputies. It was also suggested that the soviet of the rayon or city under republic jurisdiction should decide for itself whether citizens living in the Estonian SSR for 3 years should be able to participate in the elections or whether the same requirements should apply to both the voters and the candidates.

At the suggestion of Endel Lippmaa, the representative of the Union of Labor Collectives and USSR people's deputy, at yesterday's joint meeting of the editorial commission, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the commission for legislative proposals the conclusion was reached that the residency requirement for voters should be no less than 2 years of residence on the territory of the elected soviet or no less than 5 years of residency in Estonia. At the joint meeting they discussed all these proposals and came up with two competing proposals to be voted upon. Of the 45 members of the editorial commission, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the commission for legislative proposals 34 voted for the following variant:

"Article 2. Universal suffrage.

"(1) The right to vote is granted to citizens of the Estonian SSR who have reached 18 years of age and have lived for at least the past 2 years on the territory of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or 5 years in the Estonian SSR.

"(2) A citizen of the Estonian SSR has the right to vote only in the electoral okrug of his place of residence.

"(3) Votes for people's deputies can be cast by every citizen of the Estonian SSR who has reached 18 years of age who has lived on the territory of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies for the past 5 years or in Estonia for a total of 10 years."

Eight of the people participating in the joint meeting of the deputies supported the following variant.

"Article 2. Universal suffrage.

"(1) The right to vote is granted to citizens of the Estonian SSR who have reached 18 years of age and live on the territory of the elected soviet of people's deputies.

"(2) A citizen of the Estonian SSR has the right to vote only in the electoral okrug in his place of residence.

"(3) Every citizen of the Estonian SSR living on the territory of the rayon or city under republic jurisdiction for no less than the amount of time determined by the corresponding rayon or city (city under republic jurisdiction) soviet of people's deputies (from 6 months to 5 years) has the right to vote."

Now you, esteemed comrades, will have to make a choice between these two proposals. I agree with the opinion that the residency requirement in the law on elections cannot fully compensate for the lack of citizenship. It is necessary to clearly determine the difference between the residency requirements for obtaining citizenship and those applied for voting. The task of the latter is more limited: to provide for the creation of a competent representative organ through which the residents of the corresponding territory conduct self-government. The democratic function of the residency requirement is this: to be a legal guarantee of electoral democracy, a criterion which protects the interests of the given concrete territorial community of people, that is, the right to carry out their own affairs in the way this community considers correct without fear of random but possibly decisive external factors. This creates in people a sense of being protected. For up to this point we have often lived on the basis of the will of an autocratic ruler and only years later, after economic development had come to a halt and social processes had become almost irreversible, did we begin to speak in retrospect about the mistakes that had been made.

One must say that an understanding of the need for a residency requirement has spread even to the Russian-speaking population. In Tallinn, where the propaganda against the residency requirement has probably been most intensive and the proportion of people who have migrated here recently has been the greatest, a telephone poll of the press information center of the Russian-speaking population conducted last week showed that 49.6 percent of those polled were in favor of the residency requirement and 33.8 percent were against it. Of those who were asked 60.3 percent think that the draft law (including the 2-year residency requirement for voters) does not contain provisions that limited their personal and civil rights. The draft law was supported without reservation by 27.7 percent of the Russian-speaking residents of Tallinn who were questioned while 0.6 percent fully rejected it. Only 4 percent of the communications from Narva were against the residency requirement. Similar communications came also from the residents of Kokhtla-Yarve. If the residency requirement is understood correctly there can be no other opinion: The residency requirement is necessary. After all, it is applied in the majority of developed states, all of which have also ratified certain international pacts concerning civil rights. This was also discussed in detail in a report at the first meeting.

The participation of military servicemen in elections to local soviets should be discussed separately. A good deal was said at our first meeting and in the press during the session's recess about why this is necessary, taking the political reality into account. I do not want to repeat all this again. I shall simply note that the editorial commission has refined the corresponding provision of the draft (article 8) based on the aforementioned variant of the solution to the problem of the residency requirement for the right to vote actively. It should be noted that the deputy Rear Admiral Yu. Belov, who expressed the position of the military servicemen of the Tallinn garrison, supported the proposal to elect one representative from the military units to the corresponding rayon or city (city under republic jurisdiction) soviet. There were demands to refrain from having electoral okrugs with multiple mandates. But, incidentally, they were included in the new edition of the USSR Constitution. It is also necessary for the results of the election to be determined according to the principle of the absolute majority of votes. It is incomprehensible how it is possible to demand that the mechanism take the minority opinion into account and at the same time reject one of the means of realizing this principle. For the principle of multiple mandates also provides for adequate representation of interest groups in the organ of authority. Moreover, the draft law makes it possible for the corresponding rayon or city (city under republic jurisdiction) soviet to decide for itself which form of elections to establish—with one or more than one mandate. In our view this is very democratic. It turns out that a certain fear of possible machinations caused by complicated procedural rules exerted an influence on the large amount of attention that was paid to the decision of whether or not they needed multiple mandate electoral okrugs and the vote counting methods associated with them. But allow me to observe that there can be no democracy without procedures or without confidence that when there is abuse the procedures will restore justice. Not everything that is simple is necessarily democratic. In our view the draft law contains sufficient guarantees to provide for democratic elections concerning those issues that are related to multiple mandates and the methods for determining the results of the voting. But certain refinements were made in this part as well. For example, in part 4 of article 11 they made the clarification that a published report about the formation of electoral okrugs should also contain the number of voters in each okrug and that in addition to forming the electoral okrug according to the principle of approximate equality it should help to overcome unsubstantiated fears.

A special group of questions is related to the organization of elections in Tallinn. The existing multistage structure of the organs of authority does not contribute to the functioning of the city as a unified whole when changing over to the principle of a self-managing administrative system. Therefore the city executive committee suggests that the structure of the representative organs of Tallinn will have to be altered after the adoption of the law and a decision made in the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The policy for nominating candidate deputies proposed in the draft law was criticized both at the first meeting and later. There was special criticism of the principle according to which all those with nominations must gather a certain number of signatures in support of the proposed candidacy and they can nominate only one candidate for the elections to each soviet. In the opinion of the critics, this principle can be effective only when nominating candidate deputies through the civic initiative procedure. Indeed, the editorial commission took this criticism into account and suggests that we refrain from restricting the number of candidates and signatures in support of them when they are nominated at the meeting. Articles 26 and 30 of the draft law were changed correspondingly. They also clarified the content of articles 39 and 40 which pertain to procedural issues for voting and counting the votes. At the same time during the course of the discussions the demand that candidate people's deputies master the Estonian and Russian languages arose again. As you will recall, this was also discussed during the development of the Estonian SSR law on language. At that time it was decided that the status of the representative of authority is different from the status of other categories of workers established in article 4 of the law on language. Therefore it is the ethical duty of people's deputies to know the languages when they are elected.

As has been shown by past elections, one cannot agree with the demand to eliminate the possibility of using the funds of citizens, organizations, and enterprises in pre-election campaigns which is established in article 35. This is the existing practice and therefore it would be more correct not to drive this practice, as it were, "deep underground" but to try to take this process under legal control and restrict the volume of expenditures.

Editorial and clarifying changes were also made in the draft law, which was emphasized in the legal part of the materials of the editorial commission that were distributed to us. Certain principles of the law on elections that are constitutional in nature had to be reformulated in the draft of amendments to the constitution as well. They fully correspond to the proposed changes in the law on elections and are also underlined in the materials distributed to you.

Now I shall discuss certain problems related to the administrative reform. As you will recall, at the first meeting it was planned to adopt the decree "On Conducting the Administrative Reform in the Estonian SSR." This was also the subject of a report concerning this point of the agenda. In order not to repeat what has already been said, I shall note that even before the first meeting, but especially after it, it was quite clear that there was an almost unanimous understanding of the need for administrative reform and for it to start at as quickly as possible. Because without administrative reform it would be impossible to fill the sails of the IME [Self-Managing Estonia]. In order to begin the administrative reform it is necessary to adopt a whole package of legislative acts. Work on them is already in progress. But we should establish certain general outlines of the administrative reform now in order to give those who are going to implement the reform, so to speak, a "plan" from the legislators. Certain corrections of a purely editorial nature have been made in the draft of the decree "On Conducting Administrative Reform in the Estonian SSR" that has been distributed to you and they will help to reveal the content of its provisions more fully. The new names of local representative organs should at the same time indicate the authority they have been given with respect to governing themselves, that is, the culmination of the first stage of the administrative reform in a given administrative unit of the local level. The role of the republic government in conducting the administrative reform has also been clarified.

Esteemed Deputies! The draft law submitted for adoption today contains many qualitatively new principles. Its introduction will be a unique social experiment with further deepening of the policy of perestroyka. At the same time the strong and weak sides which will be revealed in concrete practice will require an in-depth analysis in order to create a better variant of this law for the next elections. But today time is hurrying by and the people are expecting concrete deeds and resolve on the part of the deputies. Therefore I move that we adopt the draft law under discussion as law.

Thank you for your attention!

Controversial Estonian Laws To Be Reexamined

PM0609133989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Leonid Levitskiy: "No Other Way"]

[Text] Tallinn—On 5 September all papers published the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On convening the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet." The session will be held 5 October. The Supreme Soviet deputies will look again at certain provisions of the recently adopted Law on Elections to Local Soviets. As is known, a number of provisions in it were considered by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to be contradictory to the country's Constitution.

The law, which envisages introducing residential qualifications both for voters and for candidate deputies, provoked a strong adverse reaction from a substantial proportion of the Russian-speaking population. The response included political strikes, which caused considerable damage to the republic's economy. The strike committees insisted that the republic Supreme Soviet deputies discuss again the controversial articles of the Law on Elections to Local Soviets.

"The deputies will return to them at the upcoming 5 October session," said E. Markvart, chief of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Soviets Department. "They will seek a mutually acceptable solution together...."

On 4 September the government commission met again with the strike committees' delegation. A protocol was signed at the meeting, which took place at the Supreme Soviet Presidium. In it both sides deemed that the thesis "On the priority of the indigenous nation" was groundless. Decisions based on it are seriously aggravating the situation in the republic and exacerbating interethnic relations. Therefore it was recommended that a proposal be submitted on reviewing a number of provisions of laws that have already been adopted. Both sides stressed the equal right of all peoples living in the republic to free development and their equal responsibility for its future.

Estonian Expert Commission To Help Create Laws

LD0309110489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Sep 89

[(From the "Novosti" newscast; video report by correspondent V. Flyarkovskiy from Estonia]

[Text] Today it is becoming obvious that there can be no state fully based on the rule of law without fully balanced laws. Our correspondent has prepared a reportage on this subject from Estonia:

[Flyarkovskiy] Even in the days when the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR was in session, the question was raised on more than one occasion of the improvement of legislative procedures, of taking into account the opinions of minorities in ratifying laws. The Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, as is well known, are multi ethnic in their composition. [Video shows correspondent in front of Estonian Supreme Soviet building] And for that reason, for example in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic approximately a fifth of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, as a rule, find themselves in opposition, when laws are ratified, especially those that have touched in different ways on the interests of the different ethnic groups. Taking this into account, an expert commission has been formed here, made up of deputies of the Union and of the republic, a commission to develop new mechanisms for creating laws. The first working session of this commission has finished.

[Begin video interview with T. Kh. Laak, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the expert commission identified by screen caption]

[Flyarkovskiy] As a dabbler in legislation, it has always seemed to me that there can never be a law that suits everyone. The column of those against and those abstaining will most often not be empty. Perhaps your commission has already discovered some ways of resolving this problem.

[Laak] We can nevertheless find ways and means of working out such rules which would suit everyone, so far as the adoption of the law, the preliminary consideration of draft laws, the creation of laws, as it were, is concerned. Today it is a fact that there is a certain political struggle in the parliament, where different interest groups do not represent, let's say, the ethnic groups. This is our unanimous conclusion after all.

[Flyarkovskiy] That is, you have rejected the principle of forming groupings of deputies on a territorial basis?

[Laak] Yes, it is to go too far now to say that we have rejected this, but I think that we will put forward a proposal to our Supreme Soviet that it rejects the principle of territorial deputy groups, that they be reformed on the principle of common interests and convictions.

[Flyarkovskiy] Isn't the question of changing the very procedure of voting on laws on the agenda?

[Laak] Well in essence, we started with this and we did have proposals of this sort too, that it was essential that on all questions we had a majority, two thirds or even with 80 percent of the votes, but I am convinced—and international experience shows—that with such correct procedures we will not in fact give the parliament the possibility of working normally at all. Today we have formed from among the members of our expert group, a small working group, which will put together specific drafts and addenda to the current program of work of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, which they will present at the next meeting of our working group. Then we will continue work specifically on these proposals. [end video interview]

Estonian Nationalist Extremists Criticized

PM0609111589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Yu. Frolov, Estonian civil aviation air navigation service official, under the rubric "Letter From a Striker": "Three Turbulent Weeks"]

[Text] The 3 turbulent weeks are over. The tonne of press articles and radio and television broadcasts has changed noticeably, and there is clear evidence of a desire to identify the causes of the rapid slide into an extreme situation and to find quick-acting means to restore peace and calm. However, long-established stereotypes and routine approaches are hampering this (or are being deliberately used to this effect).

The work of the air navigation information and flight navigation support service revolves around time signals broadcast on the radio and so, with half an ear, I am trying to listen to the Estonian radio, broadcasting on the "Mayak" frequency. A dialogue with representatives of "national minorities" living in the republic is on the air. However the broadcast was organized in a hurry, the discussion centers on side issues, they will never get to the crux of the matter this way. The debate has deteriorated to claims of a pathological dislike of the ideas of perestroyka on the part of the Russian character which has been reared on a Stalinist and Brezhnevite interpretation of internationalism. What can you say to this? It is possible that we are incapable of comprehending the magnitude of the tasks put forward by the people's fronts, however, it is much more likely that certain people are incapable of rising above narrow national interests.

No, the causes of what is happening do not lie in the "defectiveness" of Russian thinking but rather in the insulting statements which have rung out in Estonia since April of last year. Subsequently the People's Front came into being and soon it adopted its program and charter. Individual provisions of these documents not only put people on their guard, they also evoked protests against the overt attacks and ambiguous formulations, liable to misinterpretation, which they contain. No one has done more for the establishment and rallying of the "International Movement" than the leaders of the aforementioned front with their extremist speeches. The situation was further confused rather than clarified by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenums, crude amendments to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution, the ill-conceived law on the state language, and last but not least, the May resolution of the republic State Committee for Labor and Social Problems on the professional disqualification of workers on the basis of language and the right of enterprise managers to give them 2-month notice. All this greatly added to the buildup of tension. This kind of opus could only have been born out of a complete lack of understanding of the social situation, or a desire to please one's bosses, or in implementation of some other special order. People have asked with good reason: "Why is Russian taught free of charge, while cooperatives charge R180-200 for a 1-month course of the Estonian tongue? And what are hungry people to place on their own tongue then?" People have perceived this as an attempt to place them in lifelong servitude.

How many mass events have been organized by the leaders of the People's Front, the "Green" movement, and other, even utterly extremist, groupings without any kind of hindrance from the Russian-speaking population? One automatically recalls how when columns of workers from the "Dvigatel" plant and our Estonian Civil Aviation Administration were walking down Lomonosov Street to their 14 March rally, children were chanting "The Russians are fools!" from school windows. Could this have been done without their teachers' blessing? Or how the republican authorities added to the confusion surrounding the beginning of the rally 21 July. It is also true that over the whole of the past 18 months all the mass media have thrown mud at Russian speakers. It is impossible to list everything.

The discriminatory law on residential qualifications was the drop that made the cup of patience overflow. It is characteristic that the Estonian deputies are complaining about the opinion of the minority not being taken account of satisfactorily in the country's supreme organ, while they themselves unscrupulously suppress any dissident thought when they are in the majority. According to the Constitution the people deprived of the right to vote are lunatics and criminals serving sentences in places of deprivation of liberty. How is it possible to include tens of thousands of working people in this category? You cannot help echoing the familiar exclamation: "Who are the authors of this crazy idea?" No, this is no gibberish, this is a deeply thought-out action with far-reaching consequences. If you add to this that in our administration, for instance, an alternative aviation company has been set up through the efforts of a People's Front support group whose individual members are deciding right now who should be sacked straight away and who should be allowed to stay on for the time being, even a child will be able to see that Russian-speaking specialists are in a position which could be described as between the hammer and the anvil. For this very reason, on the 3d day of the strikes, the labor collective council at the Estonian Civil Aviation administration called a rally in response to people's demands that our position in the developing situation be defined.

In the end we alone are left in the club hall. We are weighed down by the sudden responsibility which has fallen on our shoulders, the faces of the comrades on the strike committee which has just been elected—the head of this administration and his assistants—are gloomy. Closing the airport down is no joke! Every day 2,000 to 2,500 passengers depart from here. How long would we have to hold out? And another thing—we are not taking action against the people, we merely seek the revocation of the rash decisions adopted by the republic authorities. We have no experience of organizing a political strike.

We take in what has happened and the first proposal is put forward: To introduce an information blackout by unhooking the city telephones which, in our opinion, will do away with pressure being exerted from above on the enterprise managers, while passengers will spread the news of the strike to all parts of the country. Our next decision is to close down the VIP lounge and to provide the same services on special flights as on regular flights. Then we go on to introduce restrictions on flights in the upper air space. Zonal air traffic control centers instantly pass on this alarming news to their neighbors. A chain reaction is set off. Indeed, pilots and air traffic controllers, civil aviation engineers and technicians do in no way resemble semicriminal elements egged on by career-minded managers which is how the republican press described the strikers. It pains us greatly that it was necessary in the 72d year of Soviet power to send out such an SOS signal.

How are we to explain to the staff our compromise solution which diverges from the decision reached by the rally? We announce it on the internal radio, visit our collectives, try to explain. In the main they understand, but there are also people who refuse to budge, while People's Front supporters question our authority.

The airport is functioning, we have not been relieved of our immediate duties, but the psychological and physical pressures to which we are exposed are tiring as the working day expands in both directions. A plan of action for the most immediate future is needed. And above all vigilance. After all, as soon as the rally had ended, television reporters turned up at the airport (briefed by an unknown source) in order to film the crowded waiting room, the crying children, in order to show people "Aeroflot's brutal face." An announcement appeared: "A strike is under way, but aircraft are flying." We took this as an attempt to provoke more extreme action. A rayon party committee representative appeared at one of our sessions without his party card or other means of identification. We politely asked him to leave. A prosecutor for "transport questions" came. We have lots of questions to ask each other. In a constructive conversation we add to our knowledge about strikes and decide to hold a vote by roll call in order to disperse doubts about the authority of the strike committee. A few days later we receive full support.

Finally, both sides sit down at the negotiating table. We hope for prudence, but the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session which has resumed puts its negative oar in and the wave of strikes rises again. The unlawful resolution on ending strikes which is based only on the draft law on resolving labor conflicts does its bit. We try to restrain emotions as far as we can, but we are forced to suspend freight flights on the territory of the republic in order not to lose control of the situation. At the same time we have not banned ambulance flights, flights to provide assistance in natural disasters, and we continue to supply islands with yeast needed for bread baking. Despite being hampered by the destructive attacks of People's Front supporters and the flight staff deputy political leader who has joined them, we convene a conference on the question of our attitude to the strike movement. Representatives of services and subdivisions express their confidence in the strike committee for the third time, deciding that the company should be declared the property of the labor collective and the VIP lounge abolished and turned into a Mother and Child lounge.

We watched and listened to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session on Central Television where our president, the esteemed A.F. Ryuytel looked like a schoolboy. The feeling that separatist forces are hiding behind his back refuses to go away. Clearly, this is why the decision to suspend the strikes was adopted with such difficulty. The group of deputies headed by G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, has also failed to live up to expectations. We have heard many assurances, but the cart is moving in the old direction, there is no hope that the unconstitutional law will be reviewed, and this means that exacerbation of tension is to be expected.

The mass strike has drawn the world's attention to the negative processes in Estonia. Unquestionably, there were manifestations of spontaneity and extremism, but the high level of organization, strict order at enterprises, and the incredible awakening of the working class are undeniable. No matter what efforts are made to belittle the importance of this struggle, our administration alone has received expressions of sympathy and support from aviation workers in Moldavia, Uzbekistan, Kazan, Kuybyshev, Krasnoyarsk Kray, the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic... there is no need to go on.

"It is futile to seek the causes in the 'hegemonic leanings of the Russian character'." They lie in the exaggeration and distortions of national problems and of the ideas of perestroyka by the administrative bureaucratic apparatus at local level. Events have shown that the controls and knife-switches of life support systems are in the hands of the working man and, thank God, as they say, that there was enough sense not to turn off the controls or throw the switches. In vain sociologists are trying to persuade us that the divisions between the classes have been eroded. The worker is alive, he controls all the means of production, and he is ready to stand up for himself. We have come to hear: "Under Stalin we tasted victorious socialism, under Khrushchev we gazed at the radiant heights of communism, under Brezhnev we lived in a developed socialist society, and now, unwashed and in dirty clothes, we are restructuring ourselves to accept an absence of rights. Has the time not come to dispatch all rhetoricians to the garbage dump..." Truth is bitter, but there is no escaping it. By no means all people share this opinion. So what is the alternative—total unanimity? It has to be remembered however that the working class will not be deceived by empty words, it will not knuckle under and crawl into a corner. The working class will find a way out of this impasse too, but some people both in Tallinn and in the capital of our common and great motherland should give this some thought.

Signed: Yu. Frolov, Estonian Civil Aviation Administration senior navigator of the air navigation information and flight navigation support service.

Editorial Office note: During the time it took for this letter to reach us the situation has somewhat changed. We have contacted the author of this letter by telephone. The strike has been suspended. A rally held at the civil aviation administration approved by an overwhelming majority of votes (one against) the CPSU Central Committee Statement "On the Position in the Soviet Baltic Republics." The collective's opinion was conveyed to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

Estonian Party's Reaction to Situation Discussed

PM0609142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

["Reflections on the Situation in Estonia" by special correspondents V. Poshatayev and I. Teterin: "'No Other Way Is Permitted'"]

[Text] Tallinn—We did not invent the headline. It concludes the report of Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, at the Central Committee plenum. That was 1 September. To use the vocabulary of international observers, recent days in Estonia have been characterized by the special dynamism of political life.

Here is the calendar of those events:

23 August. The 50th anniversary of the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty known throughout the world as the "Molotov-Ribbentrop pact." It played a considerable role in the fate of the Baltic peoples. And so hundreds of

thousands of people formed a living chain to express their attitude to the past and future of the Baltic peoples. The chain extended from the Piik Hermann tower in Tallinn to the Gediminas Tower in Vilnius. For some people this was a triumph of democracy, the real fruit of perestroyka. For others it was an opportunity to advance separatist slogans and to satisfy their ambitions at the expense of the people's emotions.

26 August. The text of the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Position in the Soviet Baltic Republics is read out on Central Television's "Vremya" program. Some people support it unconditionally. Others regard it as interference in the affairs of a sovereign republic, disclaim individual points in the statement, or reject it in its entirety. The situation in the republic is on edge, to put it bluntly. Everyone awaits the reaction of the main political forces and trends that exist in the republic.

Monday, 28 August. The republic Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has been in session since the morning. This news spreads around Tallinn. Pickets are outside the Central Committee building. People want to know the Estonian Communist Party leadership's stand on the situation that has come about. Vayno Vyalyas speaks on Estonian television and radio (in Estonian and Russian) in the evening. He said, "The perestroyka policy begun by the party has opened up new opportunities for Estonia to realize its aspirations. The cause can succeed only by way of peaceful parliamentary reforms." He urges Estonians to "act sensibly under any conditions, even the most difficult ones, and avoid fateful dangers." Analogous words are also addressed to representatives of other peoples living in Estonia.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau position is now clear to everyone, but the situation in the republic is not becoming any simpler. Why? The range of real political forces born of perestroyka in Estonia is extremely mixed. At this time they were becoming active in the struggle for people's minds—for influence among the masses. The civilian committees' representatives, campaigning for a return to the 1940 model of the Estonian republic's past, declare: Already 216,000 of the republic's inhabitants are with them. But there is also the pretentious national independence party, albeit extremely small. There is the Society for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, which is engaged by no means only in preserving cultural rarities but also actively calls on people to return to the political realities of the past. Small political groups are operating which it is practically impossible to enumerate.

But there is another pole too, which is also active. The recent strikes have been suspended, but the negotiations between the legislative power and the strike committee influence the situation in the republic as a whole. At times the strike committee's representatives advance unrealistic demands and make peremptory assessments of the activities of the republic's Communist Party and government. Certain leaders of the International Movement accuse Estonia's entire leadership of nationalism.

But this is only the reaction of polarized poles. There are also those who take a broader, more realistic view of things. There are healthy forces both in the People's Front and in the creative unions which unite the national intelligentsia and in other public organizations. The people always heed what they say. But this is characteristic. Right after the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau appeal the local newspapers were full of resolutions and statements at variance with the CPSU Central Committee's assessment of the situation. Moreover, the USSR people's deputies from Estonia, mainly elected with the support of the People's Front, declared that it perceived (without the slightest grounds for this) "the CPSU Central Committee's readiness to use the armed forces for the purpose of 'instilling order in the Baltic region.'" It need hardly be said how that poured oil on the flames.

And now 1 September. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum agenda sounds perfectly clear—"On the Estonian Communist Party's Tasks in Stabilizing the Political Situation in the Republic."

We felt even in the plenum corridors and in the numerous arguments among party workers that the discussion would be complex, but you cannot avoid this today. It was important that this be a pivotal plenum. In the republic party organization there is a long way to go to full unity with regard to both the strategy and the tactics of perestroyka. A debate began on the Communist Party's future, on its role and place within the CPSU, and on the main programmatic guidelines on the way to the republic's acquiring genuine sovereignty.

In short, the time and political situation have presented the Estonian Communist Party with their accounts and demands. Can it become the integrating force which will unite the seething masses around itself? This was the plenum's chief question.

If we were writing a traditional report from a traditional party function, our assessment would be unequivocal—the Estonian Communist Party undoubtedly can become just such an integrating force under today's conditions. But now even this reply has its own dialectic, its own complex logic. In what does this consist?

This was mentioned very precisely in the report: "... In the national republics both political and social problems and ideological problems very frequently acquire a national hue." And this is particularly characteristic of Estonia. By no means only because of the "intrigues of extremists." There are both objective and subjective reasons for this. But has the Communist Party always had the wish and desire to understand them?

No, unfortunately. And this has led to a number of crisis situations which have been laid bare under perestroyka. The party has adopted a policy of national revival. The policy is, on the whole, correct; but at first some people regarded it as the only political reality, the chief priority. This led to certain problems, which were also mentioned clearly in the report: "Unfortunately, we were late in realizing the whole acuteness and depth of the nonindigenous population's feeling of uncertainty...."

Yes, this really is so—it proved a simple matter to split Estonia into two opposing communities. But, in the end, as life has shown, neither side gains from this. We wish particularly to emphasize that, of all the political forces in the republic, the Communists realized this particularly keenly.

However, even realizing one's own purpose is only half the matter. For all politics is the art of the possible. What is the party's real potential today for increasing its influence among the masses?

The events of recent months in Estonia's stormy political life have firmly convinced Communists that they need a clear-cut action program, particularly as all political groups and movements in the republic have their own programs today. They frequently promise the impossible. But people are drawn to them, perceiving as the reality that which they desire. Of course, the Communists cannot take this path. And this was borne out by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, where it was stated: "The extreme forces have the advantage that their plaform is extremely simple. But this simplicity is also their weakness: These platforms are totally unrealizable."

What should the republic Communist Party's action program be? The day after the plenum more than 1,000 secretaries of primary organizations met in Tallinn to begin debating this. There is a draft program. It is only a draft, and so we do not consider it possible to concentrate our attention on its main points. But the chief thing is that the participants in the internal party debate declared: "Mindful of their responsibility for the situation which has taken shape in the republic, Estonia's Communists consider it their duty of honor to extricate Estonian society, in cooperation with all progressive forces, from the present profound economic and political crisis."

Today an action program is undoubtedly as vital to the party as the air it breathes. But who will realize it and how, and, in the final analysis, who will lead the masses? Not an idle question. Alas, in a fit of political passion certain party members today make statements from antiparty positions. How does this tie in with party ethics? No wonder Ya. Allik, first secretary of Vilyandiskiy Rayon Committee [raykom] of the Estonian Communist Party, deemed it necessary to speak about this during the plenum. Here are his words: "I could cite many examples of strange changes in our moral awareness. It is particularly fashionable now, to put it mildly, for our mass media to speak ironically about communism and Communists...."

Incidentally, the leadership question is an acute matter in party organizations today. There are people who play up to national feelings on both sides. They achieve a temporary success. But a politician's true success lies only in honesty and principledness. We speak of this because at the plenum Yaak Allik was co-opted as a Central Committee member and elected a member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

It makes sense to supplement this fact with certain points from Yaak Allik's biography. The son of a well-known Estonian revolutionary, he was far removed from politics during the so-called stagnation years. He devoted his whole being to the world of art: He directed a well-known theater and wrote many critical works. But then perestroyka demanded fighters—committed, inwardly whole, and capable of uttering even difficult truths. And Yaak Allik became a party official. Today Communists of all nationalities in the republic value his words and support his ideas.

For the Estonian Communist Party the purity of its ranks is also a complex question. There are instances of party cards being surrendered in many city party committees [gorkoms] and raykoms. Of course, if someone joined the party for careerist or mercenary reasons, they take their leave of him without regret. But reliable replenishment, particularly from among Estonians, remains a problem. For the Estonian Communist Party today this is a question of its future.

But now about...shortages. Today these have become a reality in the republic's everyday life. As of 1 September sugar coupons have been supplemented by "paper notes" for soap, and there is a scarcity of many other goods. But we will probably not be wrong to add one more to the list of shortages—the shortage of communication between the Estonian Communist Party leadership and the republic government on the one hand and the labor collectives and ordinary people on the other. For example, Kh. M. Ulvik, secretary of the "Norma" Production Association's party committee, remarked at the plenum that Central Committee Bureau members should visit labor collectives a bit more frequently. In the past unified political days were condemned for formalism, but was the baby not thrown out with the bath water? And N. Zakharov, first secretary of Kokhtla-Yarve party gorkom, cited this example. At the very height of the recent strikes, when the miners of the mining city demanded a meeting with representatives of the Estonian Government (precisely the leaders of Estonian nationality), no one went to meet them. Instead there came an instruction from the republic State Bank to close the strike committee's account. Passions which had been subsiding apparently thanks to the gorkom's efforts started seething again. How many words of criticism we have heard from representatives of Russian-speaking enterprises that they are not consulted even on fundamental questions of the future economic reform—the republic's switch to economic accountability. Friction arises and is at once categorized as interethnic. But is this so? Yet sometimes superfluous words are not needed in order to be understood by an ordinary person. Particularly if a conversation takes place in a plant shop or a peasant farmstead—that is, where people work.

Incidentally, today there are also more modern means of communicating with the masses—the press, television, radio. But does the Estonian Communist Party make full use of their potential? Particularly as a real boom has arisen in the republic in the informal press, which does not seek to place correct emphases when interpreting the political situation and interethnic relations. And we understand perfectly the concern of Georgiy Renin, secretary of the I. Lauristin Machine-Building Plant's party committee: "There are vivid, detailed programs about the Baltic chain and the civilian committees. This is good. But provide no less vivid reportages on what the party is experiencing—at primary organization level."

We believe that such reportages and analytical articles in the party press will become the norm. Particularly as the life of primary organizations will become diverse and politically full in the wake of the plenum. It is no coincidence that we speak of diversity. Estonia's Communists are now firmly displaying a will for unity. But the present unity has its dialectic too. This includes regard for the real interests of different national and social groups. It is the unity of realists. Although the way to it is not easy, it alone accords with the people's true interests and the main directions defined in the CPSU's programmatic documents on national questions.

When speaking of the events of recent days in Estonia, we cannot fail to note the following detail. The difference between the storm of political passions emanating from the pages of the press and actual, everyday life will seem strange to someone arriving in Tallinn for the first time. All is calm, as usual, in Tallinn's streets, people are affable and courteous to each other, there are many tourists, and in the old city it is possible to listen to a street concert or sit in a cozy cafe. In the mornings the people of Tallinn hurry to work, and in the evening they have domestic cares. In short, life as normal. This clearly attests that the spirit of good sense, civic maturity, and responsibility lives in the very heart of the people. Is this not a guarantee of Communists' confidence that they will be understood and supported by the people? For the Communist Party acts in order to express and champion the people's interests.

It really is not permitted to be any other way.

Vagris Chairs Latvian Party Bureau Session

LD0109154989 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2000 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Excerpt] A regular meeting of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined materials of the Central Committee plenum and organizational questions connected with the procedure of its second part.

Janis Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, informed members of the Central Committee Bureau about the results of the work carried out by the pelnum commission, which is working out the Latvian Communist Party action program. Members of the Bureau exchanged opinions about the contents of the proposed draft, emphasizing that it has to be regarded as a good foundation for discussion at the plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Latvian Papers Stop Publication for a Day

18001569 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Aug 89 p 2

[Report by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent in Riga T. Fast: "Standoff or Compromise?"; first four paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] Recently, ethnic problems in our country have become the focus of attention for all of us, and we respond to them with particular sensitivity.

As is known, warning strikes took place at a number of enterprises in Moldavia; labor collectives protested the draft Law on the Language. Our newspaper is signed to the press on Monday, on the eve of the session of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia which is to discuss this issue. Thus, we will only be able to inform our readers about the course of events in our next issue.

Now about the Baltic area. On 23 August, an event to protest the signing of the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact half a century ago was organized in three republics by the People's Fronts. People holding hands formed a live chain of solidarity from Vilnius to Tallinn. At the same time, demands to immediately secede from the USSR were heard at meetings organized by nationalist-minded groupings; there were banners with insulting messages.

On Sunday, a declaration of the CPSU Central Committee on the situation in the republics of the Soviet Baltic area was published. Thus far, we only have initial responses to it. We are publishing the report of our correspondent in Riga T. Fast:

This is an unfortunate coincidence: Not one republic newspaper was published in Latvia on Sunday or Monday. On Sunday, the party press had a day without publication which was planned in advance. On Monday, the newspapers were not published as usual. The citizens of the republic were left for 2 days virtually without information on the attitude of the official organs of the republic toward the declaration of the CPSU Central Committee.

There was material deserving to be published. As early as Sunday, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, the Riga City Committee of the party, and the People's Front of Latvia responded to the declaration.

What was the reaction? As participants in the extraordinary meeting of the People's Front of Latvia told me, its bewilderment with regard to the assessment of the processes under way in the Baltic republics by the CPSU

Central Committee was expressed at the meeting. Following the discussion, two documents were adopted: the Address to the People of Latvia and a telegram of people's deputies of the USSR and the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet to the CPSU Central Committee. Among other things, the appeal says that the Latvian people should go their own way and keep calm. The telegram of people's deputies expresses their indignation with what they believe to be the sharpness of the tone and the bias of the declaration.

Simultaneously with the meeting of the Duma, a conference of the rayon committee secretaries was held at the Riga CPSU City Committee; at the conference, the participants agreed that [the issuance of] the party document had been caused by serious processes. They called on the communists to rebuff any activities aimed at fueling ethnic discord and undermining the existing system.

In the evening at the same time, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia I. Kezbers spoke in the news programs in Latvian and Russian on republic TV which operated without a day off. In the opinion of I. Kezbers, the political situation in Latvia is not out of control. Moreover, on 30 August a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia should end, which will adopt the "Action Program of the Communist Party of Latvia," carefully developed by all communists of the republic. A political assessment of the situation will be made in the program.

As we can see, various points of view exist in the republic.

Debate Over Latvia's Future Status Is 'Heated'

18001563 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent V. Proskura, Riga: "Where Are You Headed? A Heated Discussion in the Communist Party of Latvia"]

[Text] Preparations for the next plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia proceeded in a difficult situation. Not only the communists but all the citizens of the republic anxiously awaited a principled discussion of the emergent political situation. Everybody understood that, no matter how the agenda of the plenum was to be worded, the discussion would touch on the unity of actions of communists against the background of aggravated social tensions. Voices stating the necessity of convening even an "extraordinary" congress of the KPL [Communist Party of Latvia] were heard in a number of party committees, primary organizations, and in labor collectives, primarily at factories and plants.

The situation has become particularly complex just recently, when the leadership of the NFL [People's Front of Latvia] has started a discussion "on the possibility of state sovereignty of the republic outside the framework of USSR statehood" with the help from some mass media organs. As far as the leaders of the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" are concerned, they have never actually concealed their intention to ensure a secession from the Soviet Union.

There are party members among "the members of informal organizations." This is why it is the time for the communists of the republic to make a determination and work out a specific, practical action program, particularly on the eve of elections to the local soviets.

The dissemination of a special questionnaire among the KPL aktiv was one of the avenues for preparations to the plenum. The questions in it touched on the issues of unity of party ranks, reinforcing the discipline, increasing the political responsibility of the communists to society. The press group of the Central Committee released the answers for publication in the party press. Even the first publications aroused genuine interest on the part of the toilers of the republic, communists and non-party members; they were discussed heatedly at open party meetings, workers' meetings, disputes. In essence, this was not an intra-party discussion, but an open and public one.

Sharp and direct responses by Candidate Member of the KPL Central Committee, Chairman of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Committee for Prices Ya. Liepinsh set the tone for a frank discussion. He believes that the republic party organization should determine with dispatch its attitude to any social entity and, if necessary, the possibility of membership in it by communists or the lack thereof. If a party member is active in an informal association, he definitely must carry out the assignments of the party organization; be so to speak, its "orderly." As Ya. Liepinsh sees the situation, it is not entirely normal. Communists are frequently active in political groupings rival to the KPL and thus essentially belong to different parties.

Here is the opinion of member of the KPL Audit Commission V. Liegis. The worker from Liepaya stresses that there are "leaders" who try to exploit ethnic feelings by spreading rumors, fabrications, and demagogical proposals. As a result, moral and political discomfort in mutual relations appears among the toilers of different ethnic groups. Thus, they attempt to separate and to take to their ethnic quarters the workers' collectives of the region. "Common toilers" at times stay on the sidelines: Supposedly, it is better never to participate in anything so as not to "fly off the handle" in the heat of it.

Member of the KPL Central Committee, director of a vocational school Ya. Bonat makes a still more determined statement on this subject: "At present, the mass media are 'a one-way street' due to them taking advantage of pluralism and independence. For the most part, only the activities of the People's Front of Latvia, its ideas and views are covered. Before it begins, the discussion turns into applying brands. This one-sided situation does nothing else but reinforce and enhance confrontational trends, prevent the public from receiving and evaluating the events objectively, and at the same time reduce the activity of the worker and peasant masses and their participation in the socio-political processes."

The position of candidate member of the KPL Central Committee, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Latvian Maritime Shipping Line E. Eglit, who believes that the CPSU should be a unified organization, without the division into republic communist parties, has apparently become a peculiar protest against the "nationalist deviation." His colleague, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Port of Riga, V. Demishev believes it possible and even necessary to "recognize a multi-party system." He reflects that this will make possible, ultimately finding out who is who, and will help in cleansing from "alien elements" and rallying the republic party organization ideologically.

It could be that "exaggerated" judgments are made at times in the heat of the debate by the participants. However, it is obvious that unambiguous opinions voiced by the elected aktiv of the KPL represent a resolute step in the ideological offense against those who call for the ethnic-administrative isolation.

What about the ideological opposition?

ATMODA, the print organ of the NFL, criticized the position of First Secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Party Committee of Riga I. Prokofyev. Most likely, it drew criticism because it coincided entirely with the decisions of the Central Committee Buro and the Riga City Committee of the party.

"A striking example of Stalinist thinking"—this is how the speech by Secretary of the Party Committee at the REZ [Riga Electrical Machine Building Plant] Yu. Bogdanov was characterized. He called for reinforcing the influence of the party in the mass media organs. The NFL organ stings: "We can recommend that he put under his control the wall newspaper in his production association."

One of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party who, when visiting labor collectives, "apparently has become convinced that the appeal of the NFL Duma indeed destabilizes the situation" also caught it.

Secretaries of the party committees at more than 20 enterprises of Riga addressed the party leaders of the republic with an open letter in which they proposed to hold the scheduled plenum of the KPL Central Committee with the participation of representatives of the general public and the capital city association of the councils of labor collectives, giving the floor to all those wishing to speak and organizing live TV and radio broadcasts of the speeches with ad-hoc translations provided from Latvian into Russian and the other way around. "Our proposals are aimed at developing democracy and glasnost in the party. We believe that all toilers of the republic should be well informed about the work of the plenum, and should know the problems which are of concern to the communists"—this is how this letter ended.

The appeal was heard. For the first time, leaders of the NFL and the International Front of Toilers of the Latvian SSR outlined their programs at the plenum of the republic Central Committee.

As is known, a break of 10 to 15 days in the work of the plenum was declared for the party public to determine its attitude toward the variants of the program of the Communist Party of Latvia which were released in the course of the first 2-day session. Not only a special commission elected by the plenum is now working on the "unifying variant." The alternative drafts are being discussed everywhere by both the communists and non-party members. Not all of the proposals made are indisputable. However, they have in common the striving to find new approaches to the complex socio-political situation. In particular, this is prompted by the results of the last session of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia which has passed a declaration on the republic sovereignty and the Law on the Economic Independence of the Latvian SSR.

The plenum will make a final decision when it convenes after the break. The agenda is the same—"What the Communist Party of Latvia Aspires To."

Latvian Comments on Plenum, CPSU Statement

LD3108093189 Riga in Latvian to Europe
1930 GMT 30 Aug 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program; comment by Janis Udris, editor of DZINTARKRASTS newspaper]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] As early as the first stage of the Latvia Communist Party Central Committee plenum a couple of weeks ago, a split of the party into two groups of sharply differing stances was seen. The country's central mass information media and also some local ideologues, in superficial rashness or pragmatic expediency, called this a split according to nationality principle. For certain forces such a division would be advantageous, because Latvians make up only 40 percent of the republic's Communist Party. Such a division also allows a convenient changeover to the old methods, tested in 1959, of hunting the nationalists.

In truth, however, the Communist Party of Latvia—as to a great extent the party in the entire country—has been split into promoters of restructuring and the stagnants. Being aware of this situation, one must agree that the appearance of the 26 August CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic Soviet republics was in every possible way logical. In this statement the people of all three Baltic republics, without any kind of separation or delving into nuances, are accused of nationalism and of forming fascist organizations; the leadership of the republics are said to be unable to control the situation. On 23 August slogans had been imposed upon thousands of people expressing hatred for the Soviet system, for the Russians. The statement also comments on extremist escapades and hooligan action. The first part of the statement expresses incomprehension and indignation over the Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian people's failure to comprehend the actual essence of the situation. [passage omitted]

Baltic Fronts' Reaction to CPSU Statement Noted

PM0609154989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the rubric "Interethnic Relations: We Follow Events" and the general heading "To Adopt Considered Decisions": "Latvia: Where the 'Baltic Path' Leads"]

[Text] Riga—As our newspaper has already reported, the so-called "Baltic Council" took place in Riga. Activists of the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts and the Lithuanian "Sajudis" movement gathered, including these organizations' leaders—D. Ivans, M. Lauristin, and V. Landsbergis.

Let us be frank: Where the "fronts" will go and what stand they will take in the present complex political situation largely depends on precisely these people. Particularly as the national movements' leaders have made many statements of unconditional support for the perestroyka begun by the party. But at a certain stage forces pushing people toward a confrontation began to gain the upper hand there.

Unfortunately, even now they are not calling for an easing of tension. Even though the reason for this "council" was, it must be said, extraordinary—the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics. But the "fronts'" leaders took a very peculiar attitude to it. Neither the assessments in the statement nor the reaction of the republics' party leaders to this important document suited them.

Let us turn to certain statements. In the opinion of a number of speakers, for example, the local party organizations reacted "very limply" to the statement. Not even the reservations that the CPSU Central Committee statement took insufficient account of the distinctive nature of the development of the situation in each republic saved party organs from severe criticism by the informals. It was also said that "once again small peoples are being talked with from a position of diktat." And the general conclusion was this: We categorically protest against the tendentious assessment of the political situation, which misinforms the population of the Soviet Union and the world public with regard to the events taking place here.

There were similar thoughts in the context of a document adopted in Riga. It was entitled "An Appeal to All Peoples of the Soviet Union." And its purpose, according to its authors' scheme, was to open the eyes of the USSR's peoples by telling them "about the true state of affairs in the Soviet Baltic republics." So the "appeal," unlike the CPSU Central Committee statement, which is called none other than "a sinister document dangerous to democracy," aspires to total objectivity.

The six-page message, which, it is true, has not yet appeared in local publications but with which a number of foreign mass media are already familiar (they were present at the "council"), treats the purpose of the CPSU Central Committee statement at length and in a very peculiar way. The statement is said to have deep secrets and perfidious meaning, and its essence, to put it briefly, consists in arousing hostility in the Soviet Union's peoples toward the Baltic republics, where "the perestroyka processes are manifested in the greatest relief and most effectively." They, these processes, are said to be not advantageous to antiperestroyka forces and various double-dyed conservatives and Stalinists, and so these try their hardest to stifle democracy.

This, in the opinion of the leaders of the Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and "Sajudis," is how the situation will develop. In order to "put an end to perestroyka," the central mass media have long been widely and systematically conducting "an unprecedented misinformation campaign with regard to the real state of affairs in the Baltic republics." Incidentally, the informals take a special attitude toward KRASNAYA ZVEZDA articles on the events in our region. As a correspondent for a "conservative" newspaper, the author of these lines also had occasion to experience a form of pressure when gathering information on the "council."

But what about the Western mass media, which have also started talking about the abyss toward which the nationalists are pushing the peoples? It turned out that a corresponding appeal was also ready for dispatch to... the United Nations. In this case "certain forces in the international arena" were suspected of misinformation. It is believed that the blame for this lies with... the leaders of the International Movement. The argument cited is the fact that in July the leaders of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic International Movement met with representatives of publications of a number of foreign communist and workers parties....

It is a pity the leaders of the Baltic "fronts" still do not understand how important it is now to consolidate all forces. The "Baltic path" which they have chosen leads to confrontation. And therefore I wish once again to turn to the words of the CPSU Central Committee statement: Things have gone far [enough]. Our common cause—perestroyka—is at stake.

Baltic Citizens Urged Not To Dwell on Past

PM0509150589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 89 p 1

[K. Markaryan report under the rubric "Nationalities Issue": "Not by the Past Alone"]

[Text] Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—It must be frankly stated that the idea that Latvia was forcibly incorporated into the USSR is gradually taking root in the consciousness of most of the republic's Latvian population and, to a certain extent, other people too. This is shown by the decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet commission studying the 1939 German-Soviet treaties and their consequences, in which Lithuania's entry into the USSR 3 August 1940 is admitted to be illegal. In particular, the CPSU Central Committee statement on the position in the Soviet Baltic republics begins precisely with an assessment of this decision.

Just what is currently happening in Latvia?

Thus, on the eve of 23 August—the date of the signing 50 years ago of the treaty between Molotov and Ribbentrop—two scientific conferences were held in Riga. The TV broadcasts by the political discussion club devoted to this date are still fresh in the memory. Such close attention to this date cannot, I believe, be assessed as anything but the whipping up of nationalistic, separatist sentiments. No good can come of this fixation, as psychologists say, with 1939.

"Naturally, the consequences of 1939 and 1940 were the result of the pact," Ivar Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, said.

"But I would like to mention other consequences," I. Kezbers continued. "A clear-cut concept exists—postwar Europe. There was a war and our peoples together defeated fascism and together rebuilt their shattered economies—that is, a whole structure was formed which includes the Baltic. Incidentally, it should be recalled that, according to Hitler's plans, we—the Latvian nation—would have ceased to exist by 1960 in the event of a fascist victory. We should not mechanically transpose 1939 to 1989. We must, of course, resolve the legal status of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia within the USSR. Sometimes when I talk on this subject I make the following comparison: We have a marriage in practice, but it is not legal—that is, there are shared children and shared property, but we must formulate our relationship on the basis of a qualitatively new federation and Leninist norms."

These new principles are mentioned in the CPSU Central Committee draft platform on the party's nationalities policy. And not just mentioned. Specific steps are now being taken in Latvia to implement them. Thus, at the last session of the republic's Supreme Soviet a law on economic independence was adopted along with a declaration on the state sovereignty of the Latvian SSR.

It was the former command and administrative methods of management that deformed the spheres of our life. The ill-conceived policy of economic management, whereby industrial enterprises were built thousands of kilometers away from sources of raw materials, and needed a workforce besides, led to Latvians very quickly becoming a minority on their own ethnic territory. Whereas in 1940 Latvians made up 80 percent of the total population, they were down to 65 percent by the late fifties, and are now barely over 50 percent of the population. The situation is akin to that which often arises in a large communal apartment housing eight families, for instance, of which there are plenty in Riga. The native population has had to make a great deal of room for others. The atmosphere gradually gets heated, quarrels and disputes start, and a search for those to blame for the scandal begins. And now they have been found—the new settlers, the so-called migrants. And, believe you me, it is very difficult in such a situation to understand the main cause of all this trouble and to rise above the ceiling of our own communal apartment.

It is only in the past few years that the quality of life in Latvia has deteriorated sharply—as it has in the country as a whole. However, the fact that someone somewhere is as badly off if not worse off than you is scant consolation to people and hardly enough to convince them yet again that the coupons for sugar and other goods are not a disaster and that the main thing is that we are not at war.

Yes, national independence is necessary. But the ways of achieving it are another matter. Should it be achieved by creating citizens' committees and registering Latvian citizens and candidates for Latvian citizenship? Incidentally, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree ruled that the activities of these committees contravene the Constitution and existing legislation. Just who benefits from the whipping up of conflicts? Probably the supporters of rule with a Yezhov-Beria rod of iron. And, regrettably, there are plenty of them in the republic.

A deformed past and a deformed destiny are hard to forget.

But for the sake of life we must not only look to the past but also look clearly ahead so as not to find ourselves on a terrible path once again. History, like life, cannot be brought back or redone. The local population has considerably more information about its recent past than people in other parts of the country. That is probably why the aspirations of the Baltic peoples and the processes taking place here—processes, incidentally, that are in a constant state of dynamic change—are not always properly assessed beyond the confines of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. I am not just talking about the fact that even my fellow-journalists often get Latvia and Lithuania mixed up.

The People's Front and the International Front are equivalent to a certain extent. The former has 240,000 members, the latter 300,000. The former, in my view, preaches mainly radical views, the latter often adheres to conservative methods.

Apart from the People's Front and the International Front, numerous informal movements and unofficial parties, unions, and associations exist and are being newly formed.... It is hard to follow this complex tangle of relationships. But it can probably be said quite definitely that the situation in the republic has now stabilized. And the main thing, it seems to me, is that the speeches from various rostrums have become more balanced.

"You know, I have never felt any alarm for my future in Latvia," paramedic Foma Bogdanov told me. "I have many friends—both Latvian and of other nationalities. We speak not only Russian but Latvian too. I sometimes even talk to my wife at home in Latvian so as to help my daughters learn the language faster. Probably those people who have lived their whole lives in Latvia but cannot string two words together in Latvian do feel alarmed. But these deficiencies can be remedied, the main thing is to have the will to do it—after all, language courses are now being started everywhere."

Incidentally, the resurgence of Latvian has not eclipsed or overshadowed the problems experienced by representatives of other nationalities.

The commission elaborating a statute on a consultative Soviet of Nationalities at the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet continues its work, and ideas are being expressed about even setting up a separate chamber of nationalities.

Today the first Jewish general education school opened its doors in Riga. Lessons at the school will be taught in Russian, Latvian, Yiddish, Hebrew, and one other foreign language. An "Estonian" class is also being formed. In Riga's third secondary school Polish will be taught by a teacher who has traveled specially from Warsaw for this purpose for the whole academic year. It is planned to begin Polish and Lithuanian classes in another city—Daugavpils. Sunday schools to teach German, Ukrainian, Armenian, and other languages will resume work in September.

All these are signs of the times. These are the first shoots of genuine internationalism, when while recognizing their roots, people have respect for their neighbors' traditions and problems. Just that, nothing else. We must eschew the mentality of separate communities [psikhologiya kommunalok] so as not to get bogged down in conflicts.

Latvian Communist Party's Kezbers Interviewed

LD0609224489

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1315 GMT on 30 August switches away from its live relay from Riga of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which has just adjourned for a 20-minute break, to a 12-minute live interview with Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Kezbers, who is participating in the plenum, by Correspondents Tabuns and Leiferts.

Tabuns comments that according to a provisional estimate, the plenum could have ended around this time, but as the matters stood, the end could not be seen. He then invites Kezbers for an interview and asks about the chief emphases and directions that had been presently included after all the programs that had been discussed. Kezbers remarks that the television coverage was hampering things somewhat, and continues: "Yes, you see, really this time we went along a kind of new road, and the radio listeners had difficulties, to a certain extent, in following what we were saying." He thinks that an interview prepared by Latinform with Comrades Krumins and Potreki could serve as a small guide, as it outlined the chief emphases.

He then says: "Well, first of all, what took place here, and which were the most important aspects of principle?" "Well, you know, a great deal of discussion takes place in the primary organizations, also in the press about Article 6 of the Constitution, in which purely declaratively it is stated that the Communist Party has this leading role in society.

"Well, I think you heard from the course of the discussion, whereas as late as a month ago this article was very much disrupted—and I would like to say that here in your city of Riga it was firmly being adhered to that there must be this declarative article—then today, even a discussion did not result on this. I would like to say that we are democratizing ourselves, that we really, well, understand that not by a declaration can it be said that you are good and leading and handsome. So then, this is the first subject of discussion.

"The second aspect was about the status of the Latvian Communist Party. Here, by a single meaning, if we are building a new state, well, within the framework of a completely qualitative, new federation—and we are moving toward that, as you already know and also heard from what Comrade Gorbunov said—then several articles of the Constitution at the present moment, indeed, do not correspond with the articles of the all-union Constitution, then we also require our own kind of, you see, truly sovereign, well Communist Party. Up to now we have been at the level of an oblast committee.

"And there are several versions here. Today two were discussed. I feel that there could be more of them, but I am defending the position that we must have our own statutes and action program, of course, in unison with a strategic line that is being realized and will be realized by the CPSU. This, of course, falls within the competence of the congress, and therefore: a discussion for the duration of 1 year more. I would like for everyone to join in this discussion, and it is good that both versions were adopted by voting. However, I am saying that perhaps yet a third version, and this does not exclude it."

In a brief discussion, Kezbers says he thinks that within 2 hours the plenum should end, but that he had difficult fight ahead of him to be on the rostrum "and to a certain extent, defend individual positions."

"What are the main questions and the questions of principle, then?" Kezbers asks, answering:

"Well, this program is rather extensive." Kezbers says he has it in front of him and it consists of several aspects of principle. "And one of the most essential is the complex of our internationality relations. There has been a great deal of discussion on this question. What does this concern, especially? If then the Latvian Communist Party, so then also one of its priority principles must be its attitude toward its own people. The Latvian Communist Party has a sacred duty to serve its people. Of course, all of Latvia's resident nations and groups have in a word, full rights to enjoy all of what we are doing and accomplishing here, but I repeat once more, it appears to me logical that if the Portuguese Communist Party takes care of the problems of Portugal and the Portuguese, and Netherland's of Netherlanders, and Latvia's of Latvians, and the Ukraine's of Ukrainians. I think that this is very logical.

"This question will be examined following the rights of self-determination of nations, as an emphasis.

"One more aspect: How should we illuminate the dark pages of history? I like those blank spots less and less because those are always of all kinds, either (?they are) seldom black, in a word, with red stripes: at times, yes?

"In a word, in here a kind of program has been outlined as to which direction we must move, first of all.

"The statehood of Latvia: Undeniably an important question of principle about the year 1940. It is clear that today we must re-examine this political calendar and dates, therewith it is very hard work. Comrade Gorbunov chairs this commission in our parliament; I am his deputy. Well, there is very complicated and hard work ahead. That, too, I wanted to underline especially.

"Besides that, we want to come into the open with a proposal to draw up within a year a kind of complex program for the development of social sciences because in the end, we have no constitution today, so what are we building.

"We clearly want to restore socialism. I regard that it is no sin to talk about a democratic socialism. So then, not being afraid and not attempting to be plagiarists, if social democrats are under discussion, but if we are building a democratic society, therewith going into very extensive types of mixed properties and their equal rights, let us perhaps have a look in the direction of this version, but science must not possess a monopoly. Quite frequently it is like that with us, that in science we already have become accustomed to monopoly. This must not be so. This is not science which has the monopoly."

One of the reporters says that science had to have a firmer say in the present-day social processes, but Kezbers had been astonished to read in yesterday's SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA a NOVOSTI article with "a certain apology that one of our historians, you see, had not expressed his opinion rightly." Kezbers asks what was right; today anybody could defend his standpoint. Also, historians quite frequently had to work in a kind of slippery soil.

"And perhaps one more question of principle with regard to the development of our mass media: Many public organizations, even political parties, are developing today. In this process, we must envisage that there will also be a great necessity to express oneself, yes? My proposal is to establish a law, and on the basis of that law, mass information media of three stages—three types: of the party, so then the party must have its own concrete opportunities; of the state, well, and then in this instance this concerns the soviets; so then, also in the Council of Ministers; and of the public, sociopolitical organizations.

[Leiterts] This means a law of the republic, not waiting for Moscow?

[(?Kezbers)] "Not waiting, not waiting. We must work ourselves."

[Kezbers] "Yes, well, in a word, I am saying once more that we must do our own, because we are rather original, and that is good. One must move in this direction.

"Here, making use, perhaps, of an opportunity to speak to our radio listeners, I am even greatly filled with indignation about an assessment, calling me to a certain extent a nationalist, in yesterday's PRAVDA because, as it were, I was one of those who wanted to eliminate SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA.

"This is an untruth. I do not have such positions. It concerns one political editor who would be responsible for the party's central organ, for one central organ of the party in both languages, (?and not) elimination."

"Opinions can be different, but may the form of expression be one, may it not? Therefore, I want, in addition, to (?tell) especially to the readers of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA that it is very wrongly and tendentiously, I would like to say, interpreted. Perhaps I will have an opportunity to tell about that at the plenum, as well."

Tabuns then asks Kezbers about the letters and resolutions received and about the Moscow statement. He notes that the statement was mentioned at the start of the plenum, but would there be discussions or some kind of a resolution further on? Leiterts adds that Communists were expressing dissatisfaction with the Central Committee Bureau's resolution, which was a kind of attempt at shifting and shuffling, not speaking out to the end. Tabuns mentions that Kezbers had expressed his personal stand on the issue.

[Kezbers] "I want to repeat that I am not changing my personal stand, yes? The resolution of the Bureau is a resolution of the Bureau. You have read it, and you know that it is very, very brief. In fact, it concludes only that, well, indeed, we too are worried about the situation in the republic, yes? We have no rights—I resolutely regard this as completely unethical—at the Bureau to condemn another, in a word, higher-standing organization.

"To return to the first half of the question, there certainly will be such a discussion. There must be because in this situation I cannot at all imagine otherwise. Personally, I have come out into the open, and I hope to gain support with an appeal to our republic's inhabitants: communists, in this document here and also to express my program character. I think that condemnation must be considered less; better let us move forward, which is what we will be doing."

The reporters express agreement with this, and Kezbers expresses a wish for such a mood at this plenum, but this would be in approximately 2 hours.

Leiterts asks one more question in connection with his mission, saying that the party's action program has been, "in fact, renamed now the road of sovereignty," which was very essential, but as late as yesterday he had been asked questions to which he could not reply, such as "whether we, that is, our republic's Communists and the Central Committee, are ready today to move along this sovereignty road?"

[Kezbers] "Well, you see, listen to the discussions taking place here. You will get the answer, yes?

"I think that the answer is not of a single meaning, yes? But we have no other way. If we indeed want to realize what we have adopted at our Supreme Soviet session, and if we really want to go along this road of sovereignty, of independence, then the party also must go and bring firm ideas. I would like to say the following: This plenum is still only a stage toward it because we must prepare our program. This is a kind of action program and some directions, until the congress, will not embrace all spheres of life. Here many will not find the answers perhaps, to those questions which they expected. I, too, very likely, will not, but this is collective work."

Leiterts says he thinks that this was kind of a circle dance, dancing around one and the same question, returning to the start, deciding that nothing better could be thought of.

[Kezbers] "You know, 59 people sat for nearly 2 weeks, and they prepared. They were experts and specialists. Well, they too did not want the worst version, yes? So that perhaps....You know what? I would like for everyone to read critically this document we will adopt or not adopt here now. But do not search for answers to all the questions of life. Let us have a look at what we are able to at present, and what we want as we go toward the next congress."

Latvia's Kezbers on CPSU Statement

LD0309121189

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1650 GMT on 30 August broadcasts 45 minutes from the live relay of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee plenum proceedings.

After an interval of approximately 20 minutes lasting from 1700 GMT to 1720 GMT, the chairman of the proceedings, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Janis Vagris gives the floor to "Comrade Kezbers for a question to be answered." Kezbers, ideology secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, then answers the question: "Esteemed comrades, I would like to reply in Latvian, because the texts and documents I have at hand are in Latvian. [preceding sentence in Russian, then Kezbers continues in Latvian] "I believe that a communist must always be with the people and every communist, and every communist must be where it is difficult and where it is complicated.

"On that Saturday evening when along with you I heard this statement, I think that everybody who cares for our republic's destiny was alarmed. I too, was very much alarmed. And my electors, secretaries of several rayon committees—and some of them are here in the hall—telephoned and asked, what had happened, why is the Central Committee not ready for an announcement?

"I (?consulted with) a few of my colleagues, and I believed it necessary to explain the position of our party.

"I regard this as very well-grounded, because it appears to me that (?this is what is there)—our republic's Communist Party and its leaders really try to find a way of living with the people. This is very much a question of principle and important. This is so, first of all.

"Second, [as heard] I was, indeed, worried, and am still worried today about some positions which have been expressed in the document, about which I and other leaders of the republic knew nothing, and also at the present moment it is known only from recapitulation by corresponding newspapers.

"I want to say that in my statements and when meeting deputies, I have underlined that in my understanding when preparing such decisions, we must certainly be consulted. Our opinions must be ascertained and asked for, because this refers to the entire people of Latvia: those living in Estonia and those living in Lithuania. This concerns an entire region, and all the more because all three of these republics have all been, so to speak, put together.

"I do not know how our neighbors fare, but I can guarantee that several positions which have been expressed in this document do not correspond to that situation which is the republic's.

"I agree, and have been worried, before the document's publication, and also at the present moment, that we have not succeeded in decreasing the individual extremists in the press, on the radio, television, individual manifestations of extremism directed against the Army, directed against party workers, and individual persons. And I shall join the statement in condemning this, and hold such a position now.

"I understand the Central Committee's concern, but I would very much like this concern to be weighed up and adequate for the situation as it pertains in our republic.

"I was (?tickled) or stimulated (?to meet) and to express my opinions [words indistinct] by the phrase included in the statement: We appeal to the people's deputies properly to show a state responsibility and a political maturity, to use their authority in order to overcome the crisis.

"I endeavored to explain the situation, and if anybody listened and heard, then you will know that, in the first place, I appealed for peace, for mutual understanding, for comprehension; I appealed once more to pay attention to this plenum which has ended just now, because I believe that many things are being decided at this plenum which will be to the good of the people of Latvia. And I want to underline once more that in our document, examined (?at this plenum), for which in the end we voted unanimously, is the phrase that we must have a dialogue in contact with all the public forces in our republic. I think that we must stop searching for enemies, to organize known-to-us, in a word, well, (?practically such) an impression among our opponents, partners. In my understanding, the more closely will the Communist Party harmonize with the people, will try to explain its position, to defend the interests of the people, the closest contact it will be in with this people.

"Besides, my conscience is clear. I have...[changes thought] 240,000 electors voted for me. And I believe there cannot be two standards. And, therefore, in my understanding, rather than digging today for what anybody had at some time said, we must show responsibility and (?wisdom). I am saying this (?also to) radio listeners. Thus (?we must) peacefully work for consolidation, and we have adopted a document today. And I would also like to appeal to my colleagues to further consider how we shall implement this program, and to try less to split our ranks. Thank you."

The relay then concludes with procedural matters, proposals and voting on individual points.

Vilnius Strikes, Soviet Power Supporters Viewed

LD0609215889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 89

[from the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent Stanislav Checkalin from Vilnius]

[Text] The alarming word 'strike' resounded here for the first time here in Vilnius yesterday. The workers of the Zhalgiris machine-tool building works, one of the biggest industrial enterprises in the republic, started leaving their machine-tools from midday. The leaders of party and local-soviet bodies went there urgently in order to sort out the situation on site and to localize the conflict. To be truthful, we were somewhat surprised because, if you remember, comrades, a week ago, when we came here and made our first reportage at the Kommunaras machine-tool building works, the workers there told us that they did not intend to go on strike. So what's happened? Why have the workers of the Zhalgiris works resorted to this extreme means?

A package of the workers' demands was handed over to the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium on 24 August. If it is not examined before 4 September, it said in this document, the workers' collectives would be forced to resort to strike action. No reply was forthcoming from the Supreme Soviet on 4 September. Nor was there any reaction from the republican Communist Party's Central Committee. And so Zhalgiris has carried through this act of warning.

Comrade Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee, today received the party committee secretaries of the enterprises and the initiators of the creation of the committee for the Protection of Soviet Power in Lithuania.

[Begin video interviews] [V.P. Khatunkin, party committee secretary of the Scientific Research Institute of Electrography, identified by screen caption] The purpose of the conversation with Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and the members of the bureau of the party Central Committee, was to work out a platform to consolidate communists and powerful forces supporting the appeal of the CPSU Central Committee on the situation in the Baltic republics, in order to stabilize the situation and to ensure that it did not reach undesirable extremes.

[L.V. Dobychin, instructor of the oktyabrskiy rayon committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, city of Vilnius, identified by screen caption] The party committee secretaries today occupy positions, so to speak, not in support of the strike. They consider it to be damaging to the economy, but in the long term we expressed the view today that it laws are adopted at the coming session which discriminate against the nonindigenous section of the Lithuanian population in the way they have been set out in the press today, then the party committee secretaries will not stop the people or the workers from going on strike, they will not oppose their own works collectives.

[S.A.Yuonene, historical sciences candidate, identified by screen caption] The conversation we had was, of course, necessary, just as all good conversations are, especially as we told the truth about what we think—our truth, you know. It seemed to me that a great many serious thoughts were expressed. The main thing is that comrade Ryzhkov's words, to the effect that when power and authority are nearly lost, the impression is given that nothing is happening, were almost repeated here. This frightens us and worries us because when something more serious happens it will be too late. We don't want this, and it seems to me that those who assembled made the leadership—and the first secretary—feel that we understand what is happening and there is no need to sing lullabies to us, especially as this is dangerous for our people, for the Lithuanian people, I mean, in particular. All these extremists, they do exist, and this extremism and chauvinism is being stirred up among the Russians. It may be because of Lithuanian chauvinism and extremism, but it is interconnected and it may lead to a great calamity.

This policy which our party leadership is pursuing, what they call a middle-of-the-road [srednyaya] policy, isn't a middle-of-the-road policy. We must truly protect Soviet power, and our life and the future life of our people.

The second thing which seems to me very important is that many people have today voiced the opinion that it is a myth that all Lithuanians—or Lithuanian communists—are in favor of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party separate from the CPSU. This is untrue. This is a fairy-tale that someone has invented. Someone has made a big thing of it; thrown it among the people and tried to make a fool of them. The mass media has already spoken about it; it's in their hands, too. So they are blowing it up, and so the Lithuanian people are often very intimidated by this. Many of them are asking for this to be said, and I am please to be able to tell you this. [end video interviews]

[Chekalin] All is quiet at the Vilnius enterprises today. The original labor conflict has been localized and the workers are waiting a reply from the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium. [video shows Chekalin speaking on busy street with factory in background; shot of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee building, interviews with those mentioned]

Lithuanian Deputies Cable Displeasure to Gorbachev

LD0609223789 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] A group of Lithuanian deputies in the Soviet parliament have sent President Mikhail Gorbachev the following telegram:

We were surprised to hear the TASS announcement to the effect that the USSR Supreme Soviet set up a commission to make an on-the-spot study of the socio-political situation in Moldavia.

We were not informed of a sitting of the Supreme Soviet or any of its houses so we did not participate in establishing a commission of this kind.

Taking unheralded decisions for the Supreme Soviet or on its behalf is a violation of the constitutional prerogative of the Soviet parliament.

The telegram was signed by 12 out of 15 Lithuanian deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Lizichev Notes 'Problems' Facing Vilnius Troops

PM0509185389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Meetings at Vilnius Garrison"]

[Text] Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, who is here on a visit, has met with commanders and political organ chiefs, officers, NCO's, and enlisted men of the Vilnius garrison.

The military collectives are continuing discussion of the CPSU draft platform on the party's national policy, and the soldiers' attention is still focused on the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics. In conversations with different categories of servicemen Army General A. Lizichev stressed that the political appraisal of the situation has been provided by the CPSU Central Committee. We cannot set ourselves up in opposition [protivopostavlyat sebya] to the society of which we are a part, Army General A. Lizichev said, just as society cannot set itself in opposition to those who protect it. It is from these positions that we must rebut certain manifestations of anti-Army attitudes and attempts to defame the Soviet Army's heroic past. The Army is the child of our people, it is a school of international education—there are representatives of 98 USSR nations and ethnic groups now serving in the Armed Forces.

Many problems have built up at the Vilnius garrison recently due to the complex processes taking place in Lithuania. For example, officers of the republican Military Commissariat are experiencing some difficulties in their work. They must collaborate more actively with local party and soviet organs, demonstrating a clear and considered party position in doing so, Army General A. Lizichev stressed. He answered numerous questions concerning the most varied aspects of armed forces life.

The meetings were attended by: Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District; Lieutenant General O. Zinchenko, member of the Military Council and chief of the district Political Directorate; and P. Ignotas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers.

Central Media 'Disinformation' Cited in Lithuania

LD0609225189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow-based central press media and television are still engaged in a distorted coverage of the situation in Lithuania.

Today, in this connection the secretariat of the Lithuanian Journalists' Union issued a statement which says that over recent weeks many of the central periodicals, Moscow central, and Leningrad television networks turned the events in Lithuania upside down.

Reading SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, PRAVDA, or KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, or watching certain television programs you get an impression that nearly all Lithuanians are nationalists, extremists, and hysterics, and are just looking for ways and means to deceive the Soviet society, to secede from the Soviet Union and to do wrong to ethnic minorities that allegedly are the sole defenders of the Soviet power and socialism.

Furthermore, nobody takes trouble to provide evidence in what way their rights are violated. The statement of the Lithuanian Journalists' Union Secretariat says many people in the Soviet central press media have set an example for Lithuanian journalists in crushing Stalinism and stagnation. We pay respect to the efforts exerted by the editors of IZVESTIYA, TRUD, OGONEK, in giving a deeper analysis of perestroyka processes in the Baltic states.

Yet certain publications over recent weeks indicate that old methods of press media are recurring. The Lithuanian Journalists' Union calls attention to the fact that Leninism advocates the right to self-determination. The Soviet constitution proclaims that our state is a voluntary union of sovereign republics.

The Baltic states, though, have been incorporated into it by force. Union republics have the right to secede from the federation. So why should discussion of constitutional provisions cause such fury? Disinformation and violation of journalists' ethnic is a crying evil, reads the statement.

Lithuanian Press Coverage of Events Assessed

PM0409154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA special correspondents Yu. Makhrin and N. Morozov report: "Reflected in the Press"]

[Text] Vilnius—Never before has interest in the republic party press been as great as it is today. People are writing, calling, and visiting the editorial offices. TIESA and SOVETSKAYA LITVA journalists are unanimous: "It has become difficult to work. And the responsibility is very great. Readers do not pardon even the slightest inaccuracy."

That's right, they don't. We interviewed dozens of people. Their opinions are largely similar. They do not accept the directive-type tone of the correspondents' or the categoric nature of their opinions. They believe that extreme viewpoints are reflected more frequently in the press nowadays (physicists reject extremes, while journalists, alas, do not).

A few days ago the VECHERNIYE NOVOSTI newspaper published a statement by the Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party City Committee [gorkom] Bureau which reflects reaction to the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Position in the Soviet Baltic republics. The bureau acknowledges that the CPSU Central Committee document notes not without reason that separatist, nationalist, and chauvinist sentiments are being manifested in the statements and actions of some representatives of social movements and groups which are provoking attacks against the Soviet Army and things Soviet [sovetskaya atributika]. The gorkom bureau also gave an objective assessment of the mass media's activity during this crucial period of life for the republic.

The following appeal by the Lithuanian capital's party committee also relates to the mass media's activity: "We shall remember that categoric decisions and the unconditional rejection of other opinions should not prevail in a society where pluralism is being restored."

Acquaintance with a number of press publications shows that the newspapers are reflecting the quite varied and, frankly speaking, contradictory range of opinions. So, in its report on a meeting between A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and members of the Shyaulyay association of industrialists, SOVETSKAYA LITVA cited the opinion of Vitautas Slanin, director of the "Nuklon" Plant, who sees in the CPSU Central Committee Statement many tendentious and threatening statements which do not accord with the real political situation in Lithuania.

Overall, the desire to reflect the real response to the published CPSU Central Committee document, and not the desired response or the response which suits a specific group of people, is discernible in most official publications. But nonetheless some of them display one-sidedness in their treatment of the ideas and moods of the republic's inhabitants.

We have in front of us a copy of TIESA. In place of the traditional editorial there is a selection of responses published under the rubric "Opinions Phone-In." About a dozen Lithuanian inhabitants of the main, indigenous nationality expressed their attitude to the Statement. The assessment was clear: The document leaves a bitter aftertaste, there are only some objective points, and there are many divergences from reality. Yes, nowadays in the republic there is no "unanimous approval" of the documents adopted in Moscow, which was artificially generated with the assistance of the press; but on the other hand nor is there in life such a thing as unanimous rejection.

Articles in other publications and statements by many of our interlocutors testify to this. And readers of that same TIESA quite rightly demand that workers both of the union and republic press "do not produce anonymous facts but rely on information from the sociological services and facts which have been verified thoroughly."

Unfortunately, party committee press organs "do not notice" the subjective articles of independent publications (there are more than 90 of them here), and fail to enter into polemics with them, which, naturally, leads to readers being misinformed and passions inflamed.

These days we are hearing a number of "Soyuzpechat's" wishes. Central newspapers are virtually unavailable. For example, we were able to buy yesterday's PRAVDA only "through contacts." There are very few copies available for retail sale: just over 10,000 copies for the republic.

Lithuanian KGB Chief Views Crime Fight, Ethnics

PM0109142989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 17 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with E.A. Eysmuntas, Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic KGB chairman, by L. Koritskaya: "Fewer Illusions, More Actions"; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] The crime situation in the republic is currently worrying every Lithuanian citizen. The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Resolutely Stepping Up the Fight Against Crime" was received with great attention. But any important document only carries force if it is implemented in practice. The part that will be played in its implementation by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] KGB is the subject of a discussion by SOVETSKAYA LITVA's correspondent with E.A. Eysmuntas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR KGB. [passage omitted]

[Koritskaya] Are we to believe that KGB functions regarding internal affairs, so to speak, are to some degree being modified?

[Eysmuntas] In answer to your second question I can say that it is politically advantageous for some people to constantly speculate on the thesis that the activity of the state security organs seems somehow to be aimed against their own people. This is fundamentally an incorrect interpretation, bordering on political provocation, which is desiged to weaken Soviet people's trust in KGB activity. Yes, there is a subdivision which monitors the situation within the republic, but only with the aim of bringing to light and anticipating violent actions against the prevailing constitutional order. Thus it is not possible for us to intervene in a political struggle which is waged by constitutional methods. I said earlier, and would like to repeat again, that the state security organs are not involved in the blanket surveillance of Soviet citizens, as some people would like to represent in their writings.

[Koritskaya] What exact area of the struggle against crime will KGB forces devote their energy to?

[Eysmuntas] I think it is too early to reveal what we are working on specifically. This in its turn would give criminals involved in organized crime time to change their methods. Therefore we will leave this question unanswered for the time being.

[Koritskaya] It is no secret that violations of public order and various types of crime can be provoked by interethnic conflicts. It is known that a number of people who have written threatening anonymous letters have recently been unmasked. What measures have been used against them?

[Eysmuntas] This is a very timely and relevant question. Interethnic conflicts are the most acute and most easily kindled of disputes. They come in the form of clashes at the market, misunderstandings in apartment blocks and in other domestic situations. And they can cause even more serious consequences. Tolerance between various nationalities, mutual understanding, explaining one's position not with the help of fists and knives but by using reason and political dialogue—all these are very important in this connection. We will combat those who incite interethnic discord with the greatest determination, and we will apply all our efforts to prevent it. Great importance in this connection is attached to finding the authors of provocative leaflets. And I would like to assure you that we will not be satisfied until the authors are found and punished. Once again, I would like to appeal to the republic's inhabitants for mutual understanding and tolerance. Aggressiveness has never given positive results. [passage omitted]

Zhukov Views Restructuring Process in Lithuania

LD0509170289 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The current restructuring in all spheres of social life in the Soviet Union is greatly stimulating political activity. This, in turn, is being harnessed for the good of society to promote its political and economic development. Unfortunately, perestroyka and glasnost, as we call restructuring and openness, are all accompanied by certain negative trends which can be seen, for example, in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia: the three Soviet Baltic republics. Leonid Zhukov has contributed the following comments on recent developments in Lithuania. This is what he writes:

Last weekend, a succession of rallies were held in the central square of Vilnius, Lithuania's capital. The Lithuanian popular movement Sajudis called an interethnic rally, or so it was called, with participation by movements in some other republics, movements known for their nationalistic slogans and extremist opinions. But although nationalistic voices prevailed at the meeting, there were also some sound judgements expressed, appealing to people not to succumb to a nationalist hysteria or exploit the country's difficult situation, but to join forces and work to resolve common issues.

Public opinion in Lithuania, as most likely elsewhere, is largely formed by the mass media, but most local newspapers, the number of which exceeds 90, offer only narrow coverage of existing opinions and what is happening in the republic. Most of them are published by various fronts and movements. For this reason, meetings and rallies are often the result of such mostly one-sided coverage of events. [passage omitted]

In 4 months, Lithuania will adopt a regional cost-accounting system. This important step will, it is hoped, calm political passions in the republic, but there is also a fear that the political debates and activities with a nationalistic connotation may interfere with the process of economic reforms in Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Well, to sum up, the public in this country hope a realistic approach to the problem will prevail. More specifically, we hope the republics in the Soviet Union will follow Lithuania's pioneering experience in regional economic autonomy. This experience is sure to help introduce the system to the other republics, as well, including the largest republic, the Russian Federation.

Lithuanian Progress Party Founder Interviewed

LD0309130389 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Although the Soviet Union, Lithuania included, is considered to be the stronghold of a one-party system a multiparty system is slowly evolving in Lithuania. At present a total of 17 political parties and movements are known to exist in Lithuania, and there is every indication that their number will continue to grow. One of them is the Party for Progress and Humanism, for short PHP, which [words indistinct] main goal is to make justice and goodness the basic rule of existence. One of the founders of this party (Leopoldus Serakavicus) spoke to Zigmas Banys." [passage omitted]

[Begin recording: (Serakavicus), in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] We plan to convene a congress this coming November. The party has a membership of 4-5,000. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Lithuanian Interethnic Association Rally 2 Sep

LD0709103989 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Last Saturday [2 September] a rally was organized in Kalnu Parkes at the joint initiative of the Lithuanian Interethnic Coordination Association, the Women's Union and the women's branch of the Workers' Union to discuss the present situation of interethnic relations in Lithuania. Taking part were 20,000 people of various nationalities. The rally was held under the slogan: For your and our freedom; May unity prosper. The rally was attended by several members of the Seimas council of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis.

The meeting was opened by Vladimiras Grazulis, representative of the Interethnic Coordination Association, who noted that the association recognized the rights of the Lithuanian nation to remain on its land, which is not only the sacred responsibility of each Lithuanian but other citizens of Lithuanian as well.

The first to take the floor was (Valeriy Chekman), a professor at Vilnius University. Prof (Chekman) did not agree with Moscow's allegations that the developments in the Baltic republic were posing a threat to the entire Soviet Union. He concluded his speech by calling for freedom for all the nations of the Soviet Union.

Stepan Dush-Dushauskas, member of the Lithuanian-Belorussian Cultural Society board, reminded those gathered at the rally that during the First Congress of People's Deputies earlier in summer it as officially admitted that Lithuania was in the vanguard of Perestroyka. He rejected as slander Moscow's allegations that interethnic relations in Lithuanian Duchy, Stepan Dush-Dushauskas said, no one has been persecuted in Lithuania on the basis of nationality or religion.

Mansaid Bairaseoskis, chairman of the Tatar Cultural Society in Lithuania, expressed his indignation with the assertion carried by the PRAVDA alleging that the Baltic Way action was a blatant expression of nationalism. In reality, Bairaseoskis said, it was an act of solidarity betwen all the nationalities of Lithuania.

The well known Lithuanian prose writer, Ligmante Jasukaityte, who is also chairwoman of the Women's Union, spoke with indignation about the recent statement released by the Central Committe of the Soviet Communist Party which, in her opinion, did not have the right to appeal to the women of the Baltic nations. It could appeal to them, Ligmante Jasukaityte said, if the Baltic women has been asked for permission to send their sons to their deaths in an unjust war in Afghanistan. The chairwoman of the Lithuanian women's Union noted that only after denouncing its past mistakes could the soviet Communist Party regain its lost reputation among people who had been led to a spiritual and material deadlock by the so-called unerring party.

The Lithuanian-born Russian, Nikolaj Medvedeves, a Soviet parliamentarian for Lithuania, appealed to Moscow not to interfere in the internal affairs of Lithuania.

The next to speak was (Leuonis Flick), chairman of the German cultural Society in Lithuania, who stated that the German community in Lithuania were for an integral, democratic and sovereign Lithuanian state. He invited people of all nationalities not to let discord and dissension, eagerly fanned by ill wishers elsewhere, take the upper hand. Besides, (Leukonis Flick) expressed the hope that the governments of both Germanys and the Soviet Union would denounce the shameful deal struck by Stalin and Hitler, which in turn would pave the way to the annulment of its consequences to Lithuania.

Grigorijus Alpernas, chairman of Tkuma, the Society of Jewish Culture and Rebirth, stated that nowhere else in the Soviet Union but Lithuania did the Jews enjoy such favorable conditions in their fight for democracy and anti-Semitism. [sentence as heard] He expressed his surprise at Moscow's suggestion to defend the rights of the Jews in Lithuania since Moscow had been so successful in this respect in the past that they had totally ceased to exist.

Also speaking at the rally was Vytautas Landsbergisl, chairman of the Seimas council of the Lithuanian reform Sajudis, who interpreted the recent statement issued by the Central Committee of the soviet Communist Party as Moscow's attempt to set the Baltic nations against the Russians. This is done consciously to divert the attention of the Russian nation from the problems which are destroying it from within.

A resolution was adopted at the end of the meeting claiming that Moscow-based mass media was giving biased coverage of events in Lithuania which was directed towards the incitement of the interethnic tensions, as practice much coveted in the Stalinist and Brezhnevist eras. The resolution also stressed that all national communities residing in Lithuania recognize the right of the Lithuanian nation to re-establish its independent state.

Baku Oil Refinery Hit by Transport Strike

PM0609153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[AZERINFORM-TASS report under the general heading: "Not To Cross the Line"]

[Text] Baku, 5 Sep—The atmosphere at the Novo-Bakinskiy Vladimir Ilich Oil Refinery is on a par with the hot September. The enterprise has today been forced to lower productivity considerably. The reason is difficulties over dispatching finished products owing to malfunctions in the republic's transport conveyor as the result of a strike. It began last Monday following a call from the Azerbaijan People's Front, which is not officially registered.

Although the oil refiners have dealt the pickets a rebuff and are continuing to work, the strike is having a tangible effect on the enterprise: There are many problems over getting workers to work owing to disruptions in the operation of city transport. And there are also irregularities in the sections and shops.

Whom does this benefit?

"Only not us workers," operative Ye. Grinina said. "For the strike means not just lost earnings but also irreplaceable harm to the economy. The uninterrupted supply of fuel for air and motor transport and the republic's heat and electric power station and the supply of raw materials for the country's petrochemical and metallurgical industries largely depend on our plant. A rebuff must be dealt to the extremists fanning interethnic strife. At the same time we believe that strikes and strong-arm pressure on the republic leadership are not the best means of resolving our complex problems."

Her colleagues—working people at the enterprise, where Azerbaijanis, Russians, Jews, Tatars, and representatives of other nations and ethnic groups work side by side—express solidarity with her.

"How can it be otherwise?" plant director A. Guseynov believes. "For we have common interests and a common goal—to do everything to make Azerbaijan an economically strong republic not in words but in deeds. Unfortunately, we have recently been more engaged in ascertaining national priorities than resolving the socioeconomic tasks on whose realization the people's well-being and the moral and psychological atmosphere in society primarily depend. What this path leads to can well be seen in our example: The republic's largest enterprise, which has earnest plans to modernize production, to provide its working people with housing, to utilize waste, and to improve the ecological situation in Baku, is now on the verge of being halted. Therefore it is important not to cross the line of what is permitted, beyond which lies the abyss."

Azerbaijani Strikers' Demands Detailed

PM0709083989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 p 1

[Our Correspondent A. Mursaliyev report under the "Stop Press!" rubric: "Baku, 6 September"]

[Text] The republic-wide strike called by the Azerbaijan People's Front, which is not officially registered, is into its third day now. The majority of Baku's major enterprises have stopped work, including a number of defense enterprises. The machine building complex is not working and enterprises in the light and petrochemical industries are at a standstill. Construction sites have stopped and freight trains have stopped moving on the Azerbaijan railroad. Losses on the first day of the strike alone amounted to around R8 million. Nakhichevan is on strike, and the pace of work has been upset in Sumgait, Sheki, Kirovabad, and a number of other cities and rayons in the republic.

Two warning strikes were held in the second half of August. The first was for one day and the second, a week later, lasted 2 days. The strikers' demands are political in character: the convening of an extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and the adoption of a declaration on sovereignty, the disbandment of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Administration Commission, the lifting of the curfew in Baku and certain regions of the republic, the recognition of the Azerbaijan People's Front, and so forth.

Now there is another demand—the dismissal of the republic's entire leadership. At a thousands-strong rally in Baku last Saturday [2 September] where the decision to hold a one-week republic-wide strike was made there was also a call for an economic blockade of Armenia. The resolution adopted at the rally noted that the strike does not extend to enterprises providing vital services, health care establishments, or agriculture. City transport was to go on strike for just 1 day—Monday. However, with the exception of the subway almost all city transport is still inoperative. What is going on? The fact is that many drivers are afraid to return to work, as the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs has been told.

The atmosphere in the city and in the republic is tense. Baku's streets are being patrolled by detachments of militia and internal troops. Staffers of those organs are being helped in the maintenance of order by Afghan veterans and operational detachments from the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League.

Yesterday evening a rally was held in Baku's main square—Lenin Square.

Strikes Affect Newspaper Availability in Baku

PM0609124389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent A. Dzhalilov: "Uneasy September"]

[Text] Baku—The inhabitants of Baku and other cities and rayons in the republic, who have long been accustomed to the "scarcity" concept, have encountered yet another unpleasant manifestation of it—all papers have stopped arriving at "Soyuzpechat" [Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications] kiosks.

This is not due to a decline in interest or to delays on the part of the distributers, who have usually dispatched the papers all over the city by early morning. The point is that working people in a number of shops at one of the biggest newspaper and journal publishers have succumbed to the temptation to support striking enterprises and have stopped work for nearly a day.

On Monday 4 September the evening papers did not come out, while the central papers PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA arrived late at kiosks and subscribers' addresses.

On 5 September neither republican nor central papers were available in the morning (I was told at the publishing house that editions would be printed by the evening).

Republican television also kept its "vow of silence" on Monday [4 September], undergoing maintenance until 1700 hours. Thus, for a whole day one had to content oneself with rumors about events in the city.

And they started on Saturday 2 September, with the holding of an unauthorized rally on the initiative of informals and the unofficial Azerbaijan People's Front.

At the rally there was an appeal from the Azerbaijan People's Front board to all nonindigenous citizens of the republic to support the People's Front movement in solving urgent problems; a strike was also announced. According to preliminary figures, On 4 September a number of enterprises were not operating or operating only partially. Law-enforcement organs arrested a group of young people for deliberately breaching public order.

M. Mamedov, first secretary of Baku Party City Committee, and Z. Samedzade, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, appeared on republican television appealing for an end to the strike and for reason and a sense of responsibility.

Armenian, Azerbaijani Parties Meeting Viewed

LD0709084489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2030 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Report by Amasya Hovhannisyan: "Theater Square, Yerevan, on 1 September"]

[Excerpts] A meeting of thousands of people was held on 1 September at the Theater Square—or Freedom Square [azatutyan hraparak] as the people have rechristened it. The meeting was organized by the Karabakh Committee of the Pan-Armenian Movement [Hayots Hamazgayin Sharzhum]. [passage omitted]

The meeting deliberated the situation created in the republic as a result of the unfair postponement of a political settlement of the question of the reunion of Nargorno-Karabakh with mother Armenia. Grigor Assatryan, member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and first secretary of Yerevan Gorkom, who just came back from Moscow where a meeting of the members and candidate members of the bureaus of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committees was held at the CPSU Central Committee on the preceding day, spoke at the meeting. [passage omitted]

Grigor Assatryan noted that it had become clear during the meeting in Moscow that, despite the adamant positions taken by our delegation, the Azerbaijani side was trying to gloss over the main cause of the tension between the two republics—that is to say, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem—and to make a central issue the so-called "situation prevailing around it"—the problem of refugees, security of roads and railways, and so forth. He noted that the meeting held in Moscow had nevertheless proven useful. The members and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party stated our positions clearly and firmly on all problems of current concern to the people. This was the first dialogue at such a level.

Questioned about what viewpoint the Artsakh problem was examined from in Moscow, Assatryan noted that the position taken by the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party in connection with the Nagorno-Karabakh issue constitutes the expression of the will of the people and that the Central Committee has no intention of deviating from it: the decision taken in the early 1920s to incorporate Nagorno-Karabakh into Azerbaijan is a matter of ethnic injustice and must be rectified. Two judicial principles have clashed in obtaining an equitable solution to the problem—the right to national self-determination and the impossibility of altering the borders of a union republic without the latter's agreement. But one must not forget that the right of national self-determination takes precedence.

Grigor Assatryan noted that during the meeting in Moscow the members of the Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee (?strongly) advanced the issue of the security of the Armenian population in Azerbaijan. Agreement has been reached on lifting the blockade on Artsakh. The refugee issue was also deliberated. It is necessary to restore the rights of the refugees. The two sides have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to provide compensation for damage to personal property, to help solve the problems of providing homes and employment. It was decided during the meeting that henceforth no publicity offensive to people's national sentiments and conducive to exacerbating the situation would be allowed in the mass media.

(Panos Ter-Abeghyan), a member of the Karabakh Committee spoke next. He gave a brief description of the situation in the areas close to the Azerbaijani borders, describing it as explosive. He said that provocations directed from the neighboring republic and threats against Armenians living in Azerbaijan continue. He appealed for people to be vigilant and to resist giving way to provocations. [passage omitted]

Comparison of 'Armenian Election Invalidated'

NC0109120989

ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian at 1215 GMT on 31 August 1989 transmits a report on the Armenian Supreme Soviet. The ARMENPRES report has been compared with the Yerevan Domestic Service version, which appeared on page 40 of the 31 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the title "Armenian Supreme Soviet Election Invalidated." The first paragraph of the ARMENPRES version, providing the press agency rendering of the names, follows:

[Text] In by-elections held on 27 August, the following were elected deputies to the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet: Levon Agopovich Ter-Petrosyan, from Yerevan city, Yeghbayrutun electoral okrug No 9, born in 1945, not a party member, and senior researcher at the ancient manuscripts research institute named after Mashtots; Robert Sedrakovich Kocharyan, from Kirovakan city, Isaakyan electoral okrug No 139, born in 1954, a member of the CPSU, and secretary of the party committee at the silk combine of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; Rafayel Avetisovich Ghazaryan, from Ashtarak city, Ashtarak electoral okrug No 169, born in 1924, not a party member, and laboratory director at the Physics Research Institute of the Armenian Republic's Academy of Sciences; and Yuriy Aykovich Chshmarityan, from Stepanavanskiy rayon, Uruti electoral okrug No 332, born in 1940, a member of the CPSU, and first secretary of the Stepanavanskiy party rayon committee.

Moldavian Strikers Urge Plenum To Discuss New Law

LD0709112389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 7 Sep 89

["Moldavia: The Search for a Compromise is Continuing"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kishinev, 7 Sep (TASS)—The sociopolitical situation in Soviet Moldavia remains complex and contradictory. Strikes in major industrial centers of the republic are continuing despite the call of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission to work collectives to resume work. The demand of the strikers is as before: To halt the observation of the laws on languages recently adopted in the republic. According to the opinion of the Russian-language population, which makes up the majority in the major enterprises, these laws encroach upon their civil rights.

In connection with the strike of railway workers, 150 railroad cars are paralyzed. The railway workers support the proposal of the republican amalgamated strike committee to end the strike only in the event that the laws on languages are abolished. Yerkin Auyelbekov, chairman of the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Ivan Kalin, prime minister of Moldavia, met with railway workers at one of the republic's largest locomotive depots in the city of Bendery. They called upon the strikers to set about the transportation of national economy cargos.

Representatives of the strike committee conveyed to the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission a package of concrete proposals for overcoming the crisis situation in Moldavia. Members of the commission supported the agreements reached at the negotiations between the strike committee and the leadership of the republic on convening a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia to discuss the sociopolitical situation and on carrying out a legal examination of the adopted laws on languages.

Today the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission held a meeting with representatives of the People's Front of Moldavia and with leaders of the republic's mass media.

Supreme Soviet Commission Begins Study

LD0609191389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet commission that has arrived in the republic to study the sociopolitical situation is at work in Moldavia today. We are switching over to a report by our part-time correspondent, Aleksandr Petkov.

[Petkov] The situation is a complex one. Strikes are continuing in many workers collectives. Thousands, tens of thousands of people went out to meetings in Tiraspol, Komrat, and Rybnitsa. Here is a recording of a meeting that was held in Bendery yesterday.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Well, what we are demanding, first and foremost, is that we should have a normalized situation here. We must create a bilingual situation, and we are demanding a guarantee of calm. [end recording]

[Petkov] The session of the republican Supreme Soviet, having imparted Moldavian with the status of a state language, has acknowledged both Moldavian and Russian as languages of interethnic communication in the republic. Nevertheless, this has not satisfied many people, nearly 40 percent of the Russian-language population.

The USSR Supreme Soviet commission began its work by appealing to all citizens of the republic and to independent social formations to refrain from holding meetings. It called on all the striking collectives to return to work. What were the first problems the commission came up against? This question was put to (Sergey Gavrilovich Shuvalov), deputy chairman of the commission:

[Begin (Shuvalov) recording] We met with the strike committee at the airport. We had a serious and exacting discussion, and not just to calm things down, but also to remind ourselves of our responsibilities. People are expecting things from us and are watching us; they are watching the Supreme Soviet commission to see what it will say. It is a matter of the documents that were adopted at the Moldavian Supreme Soviet session. Not all documents and not all the articles in the documents were brought to the population's attention at the right time.

We have just had a meeting now with representatives of the strike committees in Tiraspol—of both the city and republican committees—and we, the members of the commission, have come to the conclusion that such meetings could have been held earlier. Then many people would already have received replies to the questions being put to us today, questions that are troubling the masses of the people today. It is not by chance that the commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet is here in Moldavia today.

We are worried by the state of affairs, not only in Kishinev, but also in Bendery, [word indistinct] and Tiraspol, and other towns. We definitely will meet all the people who are demanding an answer to many questions because we can see today that there is an aircraft standing here, with weeping children and mothers, all late for the start of the school year. We have conducted a conversation, I would say—to return to what we began with—not in order to calm things down, but in order to adopt measures. Today we will have a conversation of this sort with ministers, with the chairman of the Committee for Public Education, the minister of internal affairs, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, in order to forestall a similar occurrence.

Of course, the rally and the very form of a rally is a democratic form; it testifies to people's readiness to engage in polemics and in discussion of the issues. On the other hand, however, if it is a rally during worktime, we already feel economic damage. At the Supreme Soviet today we are trying to find where we can get millions for families on low incomes and to make wheelchairs for all invalids, although everybody already understands this. [end recording]

Controversy Over Future Laws Feared

PM0609140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by S. Gamova: "Strikes Continue"]

[Text] Kishinev—Despite the fact that the recent Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session adopted laws on languages, which, according to many forecasts, would relieve tension in the republic, this has not yet occurred. Strikes continue in the cities of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa. Kishinev enterprises have joined in—31 labor collectives have stopped work in the capital. In all, more than 200 enterprises are striking in the republic.

A USSR Supreme Soviet commission has arrived in Tiraspol. At a Sunday [3 September] rally in the city, which attracted tens of thousands of city residents, the workers declared their resolve to continue striking and rejected the language laws, deeming them an infringement on the rights of 40 percent of the republic's Russian-speaking population [schitaya ikh ushchemlyayushchimi prava 40 protsentov russkoyazychnogo naseleniya respubliki].

The people of Tiraspol are supported by the inhabitants of Rybnitsa. The Rybnitsa metallurgical plant has shut down its furnaces. In the city and rayon the bulk of the population is Ukrainian. They have lived here for centuries and consider themselves indigenous. Their basic demand is the same as in Tiraspol—everyone living in the republic must have equal rights.

Here is city strike committee member V. Voyevodin's opinion:

"It is necessary to define what we mean by the concept 'our common home.' If it is just the republic, then you can only have one language as the state language; if it is the state as a whole, how can you do without one unifying Russian language? It is not our fault that we are striking. Our opinion has not been heeded. And we are looking beyond the language laws: What worries people is that they are going to be followed by laws on citizenship and elections, which will also infringe on our rights, as has already happened in the Baltic area. We do not want these mistakes to be repeated. We regard our strikes as political. We hope that the USSR Supreme Soviet commission that has come to the republic will sort out the situation. Our plant will be at a standstill until then."

The commission has started work. The republic's cities await its decision.

Language Law Defended; Divisive Effects Viewed

PM0609144589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Yu. Makartsev and A. Khantsevich: Ultimatum: It Could Have Been Avoided: How? The Sides Did Not Discuss That..."]

[Text] By the entrance to the Tiraspol city soviet executive committee the doorkeepers scrutinized everyone overzealously, they were backed up by militia men, and a universal anxiety hung in the air.

Indeed, a few seconds later we became participants in a marathon between the two negotiating sides. The republic's leaders, including S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, M.I. Snegur, chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, I.P. Kalin, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and G.I. Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian trade unions council, were seeking what in the prevailing situation is the only possible tone of contact with workers, employees, and leaders of enterprises' economic subunits who, out of keeping with their irreproachable past, had become troublemakers.

However, it was not easy for the prominent leaders to adopt a confidential tone in their conversation with people who have become strike leaders. Dear comrades, a good law has been adopted, the only possible compromise has been found, there are two languages of interethnic communication in our republic now—Russian and Moldavian. These arguments which, from the viewpoint of the adopted laws, seemed logical and reassuring provoked completely the opposite reaction. The "dear comrades" jumped up from their seats, hurled retorts, and interrupted the Central Committee first secretary and others—emotions, as is well known, are no friend to dialogue.

And there was no dialogue. "Just another question and answer session" we overheard someone say when the leaders, who had sat there all day without lunch or a break but had still failed to convince the 100-strong audience to end the strike, took their leave. But we stayed. And we saw the birth of a collective ultimatum which will undoubtedly cost the state several million rubles in losses.

"As of Monday the Moldavian civil aviation administration is stopping all flights!" We were not pleased to hear this news from a representative of the Aeroflot strike committee: It was on Monday that one of us intended to return to Moscow on assignment.

"The Bendery railroad workers are stopping their strike," an emissary from Tiraspol's neighbor city said, pushing the microphone aside ostentatiously, and paused: "Listen to the report in today's "Vremya" program about the departure of a USSR Supreme Soviet commission from Moscow. I saw how the USSR People's Deputy conducted talks with the center. If the commission comes we'll let them in."

"Like hell!" the hall greeted the news with a howl of disapproval.

A minute or two later we heard the republic strike committee's decision: To continue the strike until the end of the commission's work. To express no confidence in the republic's leadership. To show solidarity with agricultural workers and help the peasants in collecting the harvest. These and other points in the program were to be read out at the rally in Tiraspol.

Since when has a working city, one of the republic's leading industrial cities, been so fond of rallies and idleness at a time when you have to work by the sweat of your brow in view of the fact that our economy is in a desperate state? Why is it that people, many of whom aren't especially well off, are sitting on strike committees knowing in advance that they will not get a kopek from this? Let us remember that Moldavia enthusiastically introduced agro-industrial complexes, responded fervently to the call to combat drunkenness and alcoholism—unique vineyards were chopped down—and had provided an uninterrupted supply of leading lights of the era of stagnation, such as Brezhnev, Shchelokov, Chernenko, Bodyul, and others [sentence as published]. Unfortunately on this occasion, too, they borrowed by no means unquestionable social experience which resulted in a mass political strike. Political! But politics, as is well known, is the direct extension of economics, culture, morality, and now of the state of interethnic relations, too.

Of course, people must know their native language. Yes, national culture must be represented not just by folk ensembles and individual writers, composers, and artists. And it is gratifying that the recently ended Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet session proclaimed the official status of the Moldavian language using the Roman script.

But just how fair is the "Law on the use of languages on the territory of the Moldavian SSR" toward the Ukrainians, Russians, Gagauzy, Bulgarians, Jews, and Gypsies who have been living on this land since long ago? We asked many people about that during the days of the session's work. And of course the position of the Moldavian People's Front was interesting—it was its pressure on the authorities and legislators, so the Russian-speaking population believes, which promoted the adoption of the laws which provoked the strikes.

Dr Anatol Shalaru, a member of the People's Front executive committee and a specialist in hygiene, is a thoughtful man. We talked with him in the public garden where each day people carrying tricolors and the most unexpected slogans, to put it mildly, gather, where discussions seethe and echo across the whole of Moldavia, and to which Western radio stations send broadcasts back.

"All our people had been waiting a long time for this session," Anatol said. "Unfortunately, there were attempts to influence its decisionmaking—I have in mind the strikes. The People's Front claims that those who took to the streets are struggling not against the local authorities but against the Russians. Cunning! I would venture to claim that there have never been any anti-Russian feelings in Moldavia. Perhaps we should indeed have joined forces with the Russian people in the struggle against crime and bureaucracy. People from Bodyul's former entourage, I believe, want to divert attention from themselves and channel the mass's energy in the wrong direction. That is what happened with the Gagauzy, who were played off against the Moldavian people. The People's Front program contained a point about the Gagauz people's cultural and territorial autonomy. Now we are perhaps revising that point. Why? This is absurd when the people are demanding that the Russian language and not their own be granted official status."

Here is a humanist philosophical platform: We love you, dear fraternal people, it is just that we want to speak to you in the language that we choose.

We have seen just about everything these past few days. And we admit that it was frightening to look on the many thousand-strong crowds of citizens furiously chanting "Down with Grossu!" Yet these patriots were also demanding the immediate adoption of a law on language, one that would suit them alone. When they eventually got the law that they wanted the people with the tricolor flags dispersed. Two days later Tiraspol responded with a rally involving many thousands of people who also expressed, among other things, no coinfidence in the legislators and the government. Thus after the session Moldavia began speaking in the language of interethnic conflict and not the sought-after bilingualism.

We spoke to someone else—also a Moldavian, Doctor of Legal Sciences, Professor Vasiliy Nikitovich Yakovlev was schooled in internationalism, as he himself puts it, in the trenches of the last war. In his view the law is an anomaly and harmful to the whole nation for whose sake, in fact, it was adopted.

"Answer this for me," the professor said. "Suppose that you are a good specialist and you have been invited to Moldavia. That is what happens in the civilized world where talent is sought after. Only they warn you that you will have to learn Moldavian. Would you accept the offer or would you think about it?

"In the republic today," the professor went on, "there is a new social situation. Any worker, from an office cleaner to a director, can be expected to know the official language, Moldavian, to the level laid down by the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers guidelines. Either you take a qualifying examination or you will be dismissed. Isn't that the most deplorable of laws?"

The feelings of friendship and good-neighborliness which the people harbored for decades have now turned into fear and distrust—there aren't enough places for students in hostels but Moldavians are often refused accommodation in private apartments in Russian-speaking Tiraspol. Or, as an official told us, some people went to visit a relative in the hospital. They spoke to the doctor in Russian. To their amazement they were answered in Moldavian. And this despite the fact that the article of the new law on the usage of languages in the republic which stipulates that certain categories of workers must be bilingual in Moldavian and Russian goes into force 1 January 1994.

The political leaders of the striking cities were in a difficult position. In this extreme situation they had to answer the question—whose side are you on? The Tiraspol people discovered some civic qualities in L.V. Tsurkan, first secretary of the city party committee [gorkom]—he fought passionately in parliament against the discriminatory provisions of the new law. In Tiraspol we met with Ilya Chernogoryy, secretary of the city's Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organization. He, it turns out, has been elected to a strike committee. But how does the republic's Komsomol Central Committee regard this? "In the present situation, all decisions of the Komsomol city committee have been taken independently," Ilya said. "At an extraordinary plenum aktiv members demanded that a telegram be sent to V. Mironenko at the Komsomol Central Committee noting that our Komsomol secretaries in Kishinev have not expressed their attitude toward the new laws."

Yes, the lessons of Moldavia undoubtedly contain more than just negative experience. True, that experience is resulting in tremendous losses. It is bitter schooling. But was any other outcome possible even given that such laws were being adopted in many union republics?

"Perfectly possible!" specialists assert. "Especially if future laws are submitted to nationwide discussion. On the whole, however, the new and for some people completely unexpected draft laws were published in the press just a few days before the Moldavian parliament began its work."

Legislative practice regulating interethnic relations is out of step with life today. The lawyers are still working on the elaboration of the status of ethnic autonomous units [avtonomiya], ethnic settlements, and regions with a high concentration of ethnic minorities. The CPSU draft platform on questions of nationalities policy in present day conditions was published quite recently and the discussion has only just begun. Of course it is necessary to move forward but caution must be observed in the areas of greatest danger.

"No privilege for any nation or language! Absolutely no oppression or injustice toward an ethnic minority!" Lenin wrote and he recalled that even the great and mighty Russian language does not require anyone to learn it under duress.

With good reason the experience of civilization's development has rejected attempts to create laws which stipulate which language people must use in their communication at work or in their social lives. People decide that for themselves. But isn't that how it used to be in the republic?!

It only takes a careless word and alarm appears on people's faces immediately. But what will happen when the time comes to adopt laws on elections and citizenship and other normative acts, which are absolutely indispensable in a rule-of-law state? The upheavals of recent days which thoroughly disturbed Moldavia's normal economic functions are like an indictment of the dual moral standards in the delicate sphere of interethnic communal life where any careless move or gesture, especially when outlined by the law, may set millions of people at loggerheads with one another.

Newsman Ponders Language Debate

PM0709082789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondent E. Shalimov article: "Hard Road to Compromise. Postscript to Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] The 4-day Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session ended late Friday night. On Sunday [1 September] the republic newspapers published the laws it had adopted: "On the Status of the Moldavian SSR State Language" and "On the Functioning of Languages on Moldavian SSR Territory." The months-long and, particularly in recent weeks, highly dramatic battle to determine the ultimate shape of these new laws was thereby seemingly finalized.

But since Saturday morning the republic's leaders have been touring cities quite simply to calm the people. And, judging by the discussion at the republic strike committee in Moldavia's second largest city—Tiraspol—for instance, it was no less of a test for the leaders than the Supreme Soviet session itself.

So just what is the attitude to the new language laws in the republic?

I phoned Ion Yakubovich Mizhe, the documentary filmmaker:

[Shalimov] Ion, what is your assessment of the laws that have been adopted?

[Mizhe] In a nutshell, they are the fulfillment of the Moldavian people's aspirations, something I have dreamed of my whole life—that our language would become the state language and that it would go back to its original Latin script. What was adopted at the session is the most sensible compromise option for the peoples living between the Prut and the Dnestr. But I would add that I and very many people in Moldavia see the current laws as a stage along the road of developing toward a point where Moldavian becomes not just the only state language on the republic's territory (with the sole stipulation that in densely populated Gagauz areas Gagauz would be a second state language along with Moldavian) but also the only decreed language for interethnic communication and the working language both on the railroads and in Aeroflot. Russian needs no protection in law, it is so widely used. [Mizhe ends]

...Let me explain something for Russian readers. The official drafts of the language laws published in Moldavia 9 months ago specifically proposed decreeing Moldavian to be the state language and recognizing Russian as the language of interethnic communication on the republic's territory, which is what it is.

There were also drafts that were far harder on Russian. The Moldavian Writers' Union draft, for instance, in which it was given the status merely of language of interrepublic or interregional communication. For a long time there were discussions that Russian should be the second state language in the republic. But the final version of the drafts prepared by the special commission was published 21 August and it transpired that it is proposed to legalize Moldavian as both the state language and the sole "interethnic" language in the Moldavian SSR.

Since then there has been a growing wave of strikes in the republic's large cities, where most of the population is Russian and Ukrainian, and in southern Moldavia, which is densely populated by Gagauzes and Bulgarians. Information about these events in the republican press has been relatively meager, and republic television has distorted them altogether. Nonetheless, the strikers' main demands were known: that there be two state languages—Moldavian and Russian—and that the 29 August session not be held since the final draft differs substantially from the version discussed over the past few months. It should be raised once again for discussion by all the people.

The Moldavian Supreme Soviet session, as is well known, was nonetheless held and it adopted the laws. Some steps were taken to meet the Russian-speaking population halfway: Russian was recognized along with Moldavian as a language of interethnic communication in the republic. Aeroflot and the railroads were permitted to use Russian in the production sphere, and technical documentation at enterprises could be compiled in the language of the original documents....

Some people tend to view these as temporary concessions, while others see them as large and even impermissible concessions. But what do those on strike think?

At a rally convened by the strike committee in the city of Bendery speakers welcomed the possible expansion of the sphere of use of Moldavian. But they stressed that their hopes had not been met and that the adopted laws directly or indirectly limit the possibilities for the functioning of Russian and take insufficient account of the interests of the non-native nationality.

Mariya Ivanovna Karpova, gear-hobbing workers' team leader at Tiraspol's "Litmash" Plant, told me the following over the phone:

"We are not taking up any extreme positions, none of us has objected to giving Moldavian the status of state language—there was no question of that at the session. We simply asked for our interests to be taken into account too. But this has hardly been done at all. We are being rebuked for going on strike. Moldavian television has in general been making us out to be villains, and some respected people have even tried to contrast 'toiling peasants and idle workers.' No, we know how to work and we love our work—even when there is nothing to buy in the stores and when there is no sugar and soap for our coupons. And we are already well aware now that had we not gone on strike we would not have won the concessions we have gained. I have recently been in Moscow. I talked with Comrades V.M. Chebrikov and Ye.M. Primakov. I would like to repeat something I said there: If the republic's leaders had thought in good time about the status of Russian throughout the Soviet Union some of the friction in the national republics could have been avoided. What is the situation? Our country has a state flag, coat of arms, and anthem, but no state language. And this despite the fact that Russian is one of the five official UN languages. It is time to think about this."

One other interview—with Leonid Vasilyevich Tsurkan, first secretary of Tiraspol Party City Committee and a man who, as the session showed, takes very principled and international positions. Just how did he assess the laws that were adopted?

"Above all as a compromise, but an enforced compromise. There was a point—the biggest crisis at the session—when we Tiraspol delegates followed the Bendery deputies in walking out of the auditorium. It may probably have seemed that we were persuaded to return 90 minutes later. No, all this time were were talking on the phone with the Tiraspol strike committee and deciding what to do. And we came to the conclusion that we should only return to the auditorium for one reason—to prevent irreparable damage in the streets. I think that each leader should be concerned in one way or another for the resurgence and development of a national language, but not at another language's expense. Of course, what has been adopted is, on the whole, a considerable step forward. As a Moldavian I cannot fail to be gratified by the possibilities now open to the Moldavian language. But, regrettably, certain articles relating to the use of Russian are poorly packaged. A great deal has been left for a subjective approach in the future—with regard to questions of determining which officials should know which language and to what extent, for instance. The fact that the law fails to anticipate or even take account of political and economic development trends is a weak point, in my view. It already lags behind these trends. We are talking about seriously enhancing the role of local soviets, yet legislators in this instance are scared of even giving them the right to decide certain issues in the sphere of the functioning of languages on their territories. At the union level laws are being adopted on expanding the rights of state enterprises and economic fetters are being removed from them, yet we are imposing linguistic fetters. There is nothing good about strikes—we are poor enough as it is. But if people have taken this step they ought to be listened to. This evening there will again be a very difficult discussion at a city rally. An enforced compromise is a shaky basis for reconciliation. Yet we have to work...."

Yes, when basically only one side is forced to compromise it is hard to philosophize about the beauty of compromise in principle. This is why the language laws (or to put things in their proper order, originally the drafts) generated real opposition from people of the indigenous nationality and from those who are now called Russian-speaking—opposition that continued at the session. On the one hand, the problems of the Moldavian language itself played a part, as did the situation in which it has long found itself. It is indisputable that it had to be given the status of state language. But can any language be decreed to be a language of interethnic communication (incidentally, this question was raised at the session too)? If we are starting from scratch—yes. But Russian—the actual language of interethnic communication—has fulfilled this role for decades. The language problems raise other problems. Many people are asking how cadres will be selected and nominated in the future and whether linguistic skills will become the dominant criterion.

The actual process of adopting language laws has revealed yet another problem, which, I fear, will be repeatedly felt in the national republics in the future. But here I should say a few words about the 31 August Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet session. There was an article-by-article vote on the law on the functioning of languages. The deputies covered three articles with great difficulty. In Article 1 Moldavian was decreed to be the state language, while in Article 3 Russian was declared to be the language of interethnic communication along with Moldavian. A highly difficult stage had seemingly been overcome. A recess was called. The allotted time passed but the session was not resumed. And it will be a very long time before it does resume. Suddenly there was a surprise—the chairman announced that the first three articles would be discussed and voted on once again. How? Why? I would not say that the answers were convincing. Nonetheless, the majority were in favor. That was when the Bendery and Tiraspol deputies along with certain others walked out of the auditorium. Meanwhile, out on the streets a huge mass of people were chanting slogans attacking certain deputies and defending others. This was the main factor that forced another vote to be taken.

But there was one other factor that made it possible—an internal factor. The majority which brought about the second vote was sure that in any situation it would be a majority. This was proved by the voting on virtually all paragraphs. And that is why the search for compromise sometimes involved strange zigzags. Concessions were mainly demanded from the minority. Certain guests—USSR people's deputies—gave very loud and frequent advice at the session, sometimes shouting down the seemingly decisive deputies from the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. What was the conclusion?

Whether we like it or not, certain forces have managed if not to polarize then to divide certain national republics along national lines even in their parliaments (although, of course, there are Communists such as L.V. Tsurkan, as well as nonparty people who defend international positions in everything). Whether we like it or not, different national groups have specific interests. Harmonizing these interests and reaching genuine compromise is difficult under our current arithmetical democracy. The minority—and in the national republics this means the Russian-speaking population—will always lose out, since there is not yet any mechanism for coordinating interests and ensuring a mutual compromise rather than one enforced on the minority. A mutual compromise should be urgently worked out. It is not simply a question of ensuring justice for the minority. The minority often comprises hundreds of thousands or even tens of millions of people at the national level. Will there be calm in the country if their rights are infringed? Will they be able to protect their interests by parliamentary means under such circumstances? It is hard to say. Isn't that why the strike continues today? Some of its excesses cannot be excused, but the roots of the strike must be seen.

Resolution of Interethnic Problems Viewed

18001554 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by Aleksey Morgun: "Agreement Through Dialogue"]

[Text] It is somehow even awkward now to recall how rapidly and thoughtlessly we performed our work, which is generally referred to as international education. Reports and lectures and articles in the press were heavily sprinkled with word combinations which were more readily reminiscent of magical incantations—unity, indestructible friendship, and a common home. But suffice it to say that the thesis on the "merger of nations," was proclaimed at one time almost as if it were a discovery?! And we with naive bewilderment could not and did not want to understand at all why the Estonians, the Georgians, Tatars, and others did not want to "merge!"

Perestroyka and glasnost dispersed many illusions, including these. And then it became completely obvious that the national question, about whose resolution we quite recently prided ourselves, is one of the most critical facing the country. And that the real key, and not just a window-dressing key, to its resolution can only be the construction of a federation of a new type, one of an entirely different quality.

One can judge in many ways what a renewed federation should be like from the draft of the CPSU platform on the national question, which was published recently in the press. Of course, not everything in the draft has been completed yet, some things need definition and additions, but the question now is about something else. In fact, ahead of us is the first (and here the party, for the information of many of its critics, also became a pioneer) fundamental program that is calculated to lead the country out of the blind alley of interethnic contradictions, a program that is built not on emotions, but on a clear legal mechanism which guarantees the republics and the people real conditions for the conduct of the necessary political and economic reorganizations.

I do not mention the legal mechanism accidentally. Too many rebukes were heard that the lines between that which falls within the jurisdiction of the republics and the center are completely eroded. It is this erosion that led in the final analysis to the dominance of the ministries and the departments locally and an increase in interethnic tensions on this basis. Too much was done and frequently is still being done in the delicate sphere of interethnic relations not on a legal but on an emotional level.

We remember with what distrust attempts were met everywhere, for example, of the Baltic republics to reinstate the state flag and anthem, to give ethnic language the status of a national language, and to shift to economic self-dependence and cost accounting. It was not that easy to understand, and especially to adopt, all of these aspirations because of stereotypes that had set in. This required a lot of mental and emotional work from us and a definite restructuring in thinking. However, we both understood and approved. And the foundations of socialism, despite the fears of many, were not shaken. This is what it means to follow the path of agreement, to look at the diverse and multifaceted world that surrounds us not with the narrow view of a dogmatist, but proceeding from the realities and values that exist today.

Alas, on the way we cannot do without unfortunate costs. Everyone has heard now about the recent events in the Baltic republics. The antidemocratic—it is necessary here to call things by their names—Law on Elections, which was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], gave rise to a whole wave of protests and strikes of the Russian-speaking population of the republic. The fact itself is also remarkable that it is in the republic that prides itself with the rates of its progress in the processes of democratization that today's most conservative law was drawn up and approved by its parliament. Also remarkable is the fact—what a paradox this is—that in finding the right to decide, and thereby becoming the "center" for the national minority that populates the republic, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet talked with them from a position of strength, not desiring to enter into negotiations and to find compromises. From the very same position which was so unanimously discussed earlier in the mutual relations between "Moscow and the republics." It seems that Estonia and the other Baltic republics turned out simply not to be ready for the fact that people of nonindigenous nationalities do not simply call themselves Russians, Belorussians, Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, but Estonian Russians, Lithuanian Poles, Latvian Belorussians.... That they eagerly support everything that is reasonable concerning economic self-dependence, the Law on Language, and the introduction of state symbols, but will never permit references to themselves as citizens of a second kind.

Owing to the mass media, the well-known example of Estonia is by no means an exception to the rule. A serious dispute is also growing in Lithuania, where a Polish population of 300,000 living compactly raises the question about the organization of an autonomous oblast within the composition of the republic. The question is critical and in many ways arguable! I agree. Well, let us discuss it and debate, trying to listen to one another. But the Supreme Soviet of the republic shuns dialogue in this regard, counting on a forced resolution of the problem.

Something must also be said here about the unequivocally rigid position taken by the people's fronts of Latvia and Estonia and by the Lithuanian perestroyka movement "Sajudis." The program documents adopted by these social movements at the time of their birth rather extensively talked about the necessity of consolidation of society, the impermissibility of a split, and the unity of all forces that come out for support of reorganization in the country. Speeches on such themes can be heard again today, but they are drowned in a chorus of speeches of another tonality, whose direction is expressed rather clearly: secession from the USSR. It is very regrettable that the role of the soloists in this chorus belongs to many leaders of these social organizations and to USSR People's Deputies.

We mastered this in theory a long time ago, but we have difficulty with it in practice: The time of monologue has gone never to return. The time has come for collective efforts and collective reflection on what the new Soviet federation should be like, how to succeed so that not one—even the numerically smallest—ethnic group feels infringed upon in it and deprived of rights, and so that any citizen of the USSR in any republic and in any oblast feels comfortable and confident, and at home.

Former Uzbek Premier Sentenced to 9 Years

LD0609190789 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The criminal board of the USSR Supreme Court has sentenced a former chairman of the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan to nine years of imprisonment for bribery in an open court session.

Narmakhonmadi Khudaiberdiev will serve his sentence in a reinforced regime correctional labour camp, and his property will be confiscated.

At the trial, Khudaiberdiev retracted his testimony given during the preliminary investigation. The court found his statement groundless and his initial testimony authentic, as "it is objectively confirmed by materials of the case and other evidence."

The court excluded some episodes from the charges brought against Khudaiberdiev earlier and finally charged him with receiving 15,700 roubles in bribes and giving bribes worth 50,000 roubles.

The court described this criminal act as "repeatedly committed by an official holding a senior post."

Khudayberdyev To Appeal Sentence

LD0609225289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The court case concerning Khudayberdyyev, formerly Uzbek Council of Ministers chairman, has ended.

[Correspondent A. Barkhatov] At the USSR Supreme Court, this concerns the case Khudayberdyyev, former Uzbek Council of Ministers chairman.

This is not a continuation of the Churbanov case, although the surname Khudayberdyyev even then figured in the list of witnesses and persons who gave bribes to Churbanov. This is a separate case, and I would like to emphasize one more fine point: During the court case, Khudayberdyyev retracted many testimonies which he previously made. Here is the outcome of 2 years of investigation. [video switches from empty courtroom to the earlier scene: the sentence is read out with Khudayberdyyev in the courtroom]

[Begin recording] [unidentified Judge] The sentence is proclaimed. On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, having researched and assessed the evidence gathered about the case, the Judicial collegium has established: the accused, Khudayberdyyev, is found guilty of—when working as Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers chairman, being a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, a Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet deputy, CPSU Central Committee member, a member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central committee Bureau, and, by force of the powers given to him and functions fulfilled by him, being an official occupying a post of responsibility—receiving bribes on several occasions from the leaders of party bodies of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic for patronage and for giving assistance and support in the work which he was able to give them by using his official position inter alia. Khudaberdyyev testified that, to gain future support from Churbanov, who occupied a responsible official post and enjoyed great influence, he decided to get closer to him.

Through the administration of affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR, he obtained a coffee service of local make and put R50,000 inside it. He kept the money in a safe, money that he had accumulated partially from bribes he received. In the evening, between 2100 and 2200 hours on one of the days when Churbanov was on business in Tashkent in October 1982, Khudayberdyyev arrived in an official automobile at the residence of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, where Churbanov was staying. Going up to Churbanov's room, he presented the coffee service to Churbanov in a package in which he had placed the R50,000. When presenting the coffee service, he told Churbanov about there being money in the box, without naming the sum. Churbanov accepted the bribe and thanked him.

Khudayberdyyev's ultimate punishment is to be nominated by proclaiming a less strict punishment more strict in the form of 9 years incarceration, with him serving his sentence in an intensified correctional labor colony, with the confiscation of property, without exile, and with deprivation of the right to occupy a post connected with the fulfillment of organisational and distribution.... [Soviet TV correspondent interrupts; an interview with Khudayberdyyev is shown] [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Barkhatov] The court case has ended. Do you fully and entirely agree with the sentence? Can one say that you understand the sentence and what lies behind it on your part?

[Khudayberdyyev] I understand what I have been sentenced to today. But I, of course, totally disagree with the sentence.

[Barkhatov] You consider that, during the practice of work, there was no bribing going on alongside you, no bribe-givers and no bribe-takers?

[Khudayberdyyev] I myself, personally, did not see it. [end recording]

[Barkhatov] Khudayberdyyev rejects the sentence. He wants to make an appeal. He still thinks that the honor and conscience which he has lost can be restored; without repentance, and effectively once more by bypassing the law. [video shows Khudayberdyyev being led away]

Labor Camp Riot Attempt Suppressed

LD0709061589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0440 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (TASS)—SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA reported today that a group of detainees tried to start a riot at one of the strict regime [correctional labour] colonies in the Komi Autonomous Republic; in the northern part of the Russian Federation.

The detainees managed to set fire to an official building and to premises in the residence area. A combined force of internal security troops was able to put an end to the disturbances and to put out the fire. Seven prisoners and three of the colony's staff were injured during the operation.

Election Draft Law Published in Buryat ASSR

LD3108152189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] The draft law on the election of people's deputies to the republic' Supreme Soviet has been published in Buryat. The document does not envision election from public organizations, nor the obligatory holding of constituency pre-election meetings. The club of voters of the city of Uland-Ude proposed holding a referendum among the population of the autonomous republic on the more important points of the draft. After nationwide discussion, the document will be confirmed by the Buryat Supreme Soviet.

Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Session Agenda Set

LD0109162789 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIA in Russian 20 Aug 89 p 1

[Decree of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed the convention of the 10th extraordinary session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation on 22 September 1989 in the city of Frunze.

[Signed] T. Akmatov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
A. Mirzaliyeva, secretary of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Frunze, 18 August 1989.

* * *

The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reports that the following matters are to be put forward for the review of the 10th extraordinary session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation:

1. A report-back by the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers concerning measures for restructuring their own work, as well as the activities of the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, ministries, and departments of the republic in solving economic and social problems and meeting the demands of the people to a greater extent.

2. On the draft law of the Kirghiz SSR concerning the introduction of amendments and addenda to (the basic law) of the Kirghiz SSR Constitution.

3. On the draft laws of the Kirghiz SSR concerning election of Kirghiz SSR people's deputies and of deputies to local soviets of the Kirghiz SSR people's deputies.

4. On the draft law of the Kirghiz SSR concerning the state language of the Kirghiz SSR.

5. On confirmation of the decrees of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Trade Union Plenum Considers 'Unusual' Issues

LD0509194589 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Issues that are raised at the plenary meeting of the leading body of the Soviet trade unions, currently under way in Moscow, are unusual, a trade union official told newsmen here today.

"The issues discussed go well beyond the conventional practice of Soviet trade unions," trade union secretary Igor Klochkov noted at a briefing for press representatives covering the 6th plenum of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council.

The debate on the report made by Soviet trade union leader Stepan Shalayev is focussed on the role of trade unions in the current complicated social and economic situation.

"In several regions, trade union bodies are balancing on the brink of losing their prestige," Vasiliy Romanov, chairman of the Kemerovo Regional Council of Trade Unions, said in his statement.

He disclosed that trade union bodies are being re-elected in the western Siberian region at the demand of the local strike committee.

In the opinion of a representative of another mining region, the recent strikes were sparked off by the heightening of social tensions and the worsening of working conditions.

The Official, Fyodor Zderzhikov, who is chairman of the Donetsk regional Council of Trade Unions in the Ukraine, said that 26,000 miners were working in pits at temperatures that were considerably higher than norm.

The Donetsk trade union leader demanded that the government set up groups to find prompt solutions to outstanding social problems and help improve working conditions.

Railway workers were in a striking mood as well, said Ivan Shinkevich, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Railway Transport Workers and Transport Construction. Shop-floor trade union committees, however, succeeded in dissuading the workers of this key industry from going on strike, he said.

Shinkevich expressed amazement over the fact that the government has not as yet responded to the railwaymen's demands advanced one month ago.

Many speakers at the plenary meeting sharply criticised the state of affairs in the cooperative sector. They stressed that workers supported coops that helped strengthen the national economy, but rejected those that were engaged in resale dealings bordering on speculation.

The plenum raised the question of instituting an independent trade union organisation in the Russian Federation.

6th Plenum Ends Work

LD0609183789 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] ended its 6th plenary meeting here today urging Soviet trade unions to shift emphasis from production issues to protection of the rights of working people.

The final documents of the plenary meeting focus on ways of eliminating the growing deficit in consumer goods and holding back inflation. The AUCCTU plenum regards it necessary for the Soviet Government and the Councils of Ministers of union republics to take urgent measures to "freeze" prices on basic foodstuffs and to forge a single price control system.

The plenum delegates entrused the AUCCTU Presidium to bring before the country's parliament a draft law on the rights of USSR trade unions, which they endorsed. The law will give the trade unions, the country's largest mass organisation, wider powers in enforcing compliance with the legislation on labour protection and wages.

The AUCCTU plenum demanded that central and local state bodies take urgent measures to defend the co-op movement from all manner of dealers, speculators and extortioners. The trade unions support only those cooperatives which help saturate the country's market with the goods and services whose prices match those in state shops. The plenum recommended to a group of USSR people's deputies from trade unions to uphold the positions of their organisation when the Supreme Soviet discusses the draft laws on the rights of Soviet trade unions, labour disputes and other important documents.

The plenum decided to set up an organisational committee to prepare a constituent conference of the Council of Trade Unions of the Russian Republic.

Council Makes Personnel Changes

LD0609214189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] plenum ended in Moscow on Wednesday [6 Sep]. The plenum participants voiced the general opinion that the trade unions, which have so far not managed to catch on to the positive processes underway in the country, are required to quickly put an end to the lingering lag and to lead socioeconomic restructuring. [passage omitted]

The plenum released Comrade Lomonosov from his duty as AUCCTU deputy chairman in connection with his retirement on pension. Comrades [Igor Yevgeniyevich] Klochkov and [Gennadiy Ivanovich] Yanayev were elected deputy chairmen. CPSU Central Committee member [Gennediy Sergeyevich] Bashtanyuk was elected AUCCTU secretary.

Formation of Russian TU's Urged

LD0609175389 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—A plenum of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions [AUCCTU] that ended in Moscow today adopted a decision to form trade unions of Russia. The constituent conference of the Russian Republican Council of Trade Unions will be held in the first quarter of 1990, and the organising committee will start to work from this September. The Russian Federation is now the only union republic whose trade unions are subordinated directly by the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

Many participants in the plenum proposed the creation of Russia's trade unions. Thus Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of Moscow's trade union council, expressed perplexity why Russia where 76 million members of trade union work has no trade union organisation of its own. It is only the republican trade union council that can represent the interests of the working people of the north, western and eastern Siberia, the Far East and the European part of Russia in the republican government, said Vasiliy Romanov, chairman of the Kemerovo regional trade union council. He also proposed to form the apparatus of the republican council through the reduction of the apparatus of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

The creation of Russian trade unions reflects a large-scale process of the shaping of new socio-political structures which takes place in many union republics.

Formation of Russian Communist Party Urged

PM0609123589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Letter from I. Lachugin, secretary of the party committee of Voronezh Aviation Production Association: "On Principles of Equality"]

[Text] It is not enough to say that we Voronezh people are concerned at the processes occurring in interethnic relations. They arouse in us feelings of compassion and pain, bitterness and disappointment. Sometimes you cannot even believe it: Are waves of nationalism raging in our country?

Frankly speaking, I had been awaiting the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics. Things there have gone very far. Life has handed us a bitter lesson. While we Communists have been restructuring ourselves, extremist forces have managed not only to organize themselves but also to infect many ordinary people with the virus of nationalism.

It was in such an anxious atmosphere that our collective discussed the draft CPSU Central Committee platform "The Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Present Conditions." I wish to dwell on just one point. In our opinion, the draft platform correctly defines the new concept of the CPSU nationalities policy. The peoples' growing self-awareness and their desire for free and independent development must be taken into account today more than ever. Only on this basis it is possible to achieve the harmonization of interethnic relations and a truly Leninist understanding of the Soviet federation as the voluntary unification of the peoples into a single union state in which each republic preserves its independence.

I particularly draw attention to the words "each republic." This means the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] too. We welcome the points which could resolve the problems of the Russian Federation's legal status and its national-state system. Yes, Russia needs additional organs of republic management, including administrative, economic, ideological, cultural, scientific, and other organs. But concern is aroused by the idea of the RSFSR's going over to administration on the basis of large regions and of the creation there of both economic and soviet organs. How are we to prevent Russia being split up into the parts which came together over the centuries? We believe that this draft should be published in the press, so that our people can discuss it comprehensively.

We familiarized ourselves with interest with the proposal to hold regular Russian conferences of the CPSU, which would resolve fundamental questions of the activities of the republic's Communists. There is a need for this. This is good. But the next proposal perplexes everyone. For direct operational leadership of Russia's party organizations it is proposed to create a Central Committee Bureau (Secretariat) within the structure of the CPSU Central Committee. But such an organ has been created before, you know. This was under N.S. Khrushchev. It functioned for approximately 10 years but was then abolished as not wanted. And now it is being reinstated. Is it worth it?

V.I. Lenin wrote in his work "The Working Class and the Nationalities Question": "Not a single privilege for a single nation or a single language! Not the slightest oppression, not the slightest injustice toward a national minority!—these are the principles of working-class democracy."

It is time to extend that advice of Lenin's to Russia too, which, it is obvious, is losing its national originality and experiencing a massive onslaught by extremists on its national sacred places. Russophobia has openly reared its head.

If we speak of the republics' equality, it must exist in everything. Today Communist Parties exist in all the union republics except the Russian Federation. And this has been so for decades. We are not now convinced by the reasons given at the 14th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress. The situation has changed. We Communists at the association believe that it is expedient now to form a Communist Party of Russia with its own Russian Central Committee. Our opinion is unanimous.

Heavy Rains Cause Flooding in Vladivostok

LD0409173689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The insidiousness of the Far East weather has long been known, but it is difficult to recall such a stern temper as just now, moreover in one and in the same area, namely in the Maritime kray. [passage omitted]

There have been heavy rains in the Maritime kray since 2 September and in individual places the quantity of rain has already exceeded the monthly norm. The unusually intense downpour raged this time in Vladivostok itself. Appreciable damage has been caused to the city. One hundred kilometers of roads; 101 houses; and 26 enterprises, depots, and substations are flooded. The population has even had to be evacuated from several streets. Fields are flooded in the Ussuriyskiy and Oktyabrskiy rayons and the town of Spassk-Dalniy is slightly flooded. Let us say it outright, that is the sort of uneasy situation which has arisen again in the Maritime kray. And the rains will continue there for at least another 24 hours. A commission is in force to eliminate the consequences of the elements. [passage omitted]

R50-Million Damage

LD0509131289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Vladivostok, 5 Sep (TASS)—Prolonged torrential rains which have hit the south of the Soviet Far East with the onset of autumn have made roads impassable, flooded the basements of buildings, and damaged or put out of action the communications and life-support systems of Vladivostok. The city's heat and electricity stations have stopped operating. Over a few days in September Vladivostok has "received" the precipitation norm for half a month. The suburban zone has especially suffered.

A staff was immediately set up to assume the coordination of the restoration and rescue work. According to preliminary data, the damage from the raging elements, which has been caused by the passing of a cyclone, amounts to about R50 million.

WWII, Security Lessons for Today Discussed

PM0309174589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Guarding Peace—That Is the Main Lesson of the Last World War"]

[Text] Exactly 50 years ago a storm broke over Europe and other regions of the world—a most destructive war which cost more than 50 million human lives. To this day people peer attentively at the past in an attempt not only to find an answer to the question of how such a crime could have been committed but—and this is the main thing—to understand what must be done to exclude war forever from the life of society. And especially to prevent a nuclear-missile war.

There are countless books and articles devoted to the causes of World War II. They include many objective studies. But there are even more works that present a biased picture of prewar interstate relations. Some authors spare no effort to shift responsibility from the main culprit for the monstrous crimes—Hitlerite fascism. Others try to whitewash those people in the West who conducted a hypocritical policy in the face of ever increasing fascist aggression. Insistent efforts are made at the same time to give the impression that the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty of 23 August 1939 played a fatal role in the outbreak of the military conflagration.

Of course, coverage of the events of the past decades must be freed of assessments of expediency, and especially of embellishments, gaps, and distortions. You cannot fail to see definite minuses in the Soviet leadership's actions at that complex period, in particular in the conclusion of the treaties with Germany in 1939, especially the treaty of 28 September. But it is also equally wrong to abstract yourself from the specific historical situation in which the Soviet Union took particular foreign policy actions.

You cannot repeat history. It bears witness: In the thirties a major seat of aggression rapidly arose in the center of Europe. War hot spots also flared up like lightning in Asia, where the expansion of Japanese militarism, which nurtured plans for a strike on the USSR from the east, spread. The Soviet state warned the peoples about the impending danger. The Soviet Union made persistent efforts to create an antifascist front comprising above all those powers that had a real possibility of saving the world—the USSR, Britain, and France. It was precisely a system of collective security that could have constituted a true alternative to the impending world combat.

It was not the USSR that attacked Germany in 1941 but vice versa. At that time all the agreements of 1939 went up in flames and lost their purpose and force in the flames of war. That is why it is farfetched to seek connections between the current position of the three Baltic republics and the treaty of 23 August. Moreover, it must not be fogotten that the peoples of the Baltic, like those in the Western Ukraine, Western Belorussia, and Moldavia, could have fallen under the Hitlerite yoke in 1939.

Fascism did not succeed in reversing the course of history. In the face of common danger the countries and peoples who valued freedom and democracy were able to unite their efforts. The emergence of the anti-Hitler coalition demonstrated how favorable the fruit are when the trend toward cooperation and collective defense of peace takes the upper hand. The following lesson is derived from this: The forces of evil and violence can be curbed by joint efforts on the part of the defenders of freedom and progress.

This conclusion assumes unprecedented importance in our time. The integrity and interdependence of the world have never been perceived with such clarity. The greatest danger threatening all mankind today is that of nuclear war. The Soviet program for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 has thus met with a broad response everywhere because its implementation accords with the vital interests of all the inhabitants of our planet. Can peoples and states really resolve the most acute environmental problems alone?

The qualitative difference in the foreign policy of the perestroyka period is expressed in the quest for new approaches to building international relations. Relations between states are being freed from the dogmas and stereotypes of the past and are being filled with new political thinking, enabling the most correct path to be found through the labyrinth of complex problems of the day.

Nowadays the cause of preventing the threat of nuclear war and preserving and consolidating universal peace has become a vital matter for the vast majority of the planet's population.

Socialist states are applying their efforts to the supreme aim of purposefully and consistently building a new world order, freeing peoples from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, comprehensively developing international cooperation, and helping ensure all-embracing and equal security. The Warsaw Pact states resolutely advocate ensuring security by political rather than military means and asserting the primacy of international law. They demonstrate with actions their sincere readiness to develop and deepen dialogue with all countries.

Governments and peoples in the states of Europe, Asia, America, and Africa—everywhere—are increasingly coming to realize the senselessness and danger of military rivalry. A dynamic coalition involving the forces of peace and reason is now emerging into the historical arena. As a result of cooperation between all these forces real preconditions are increasing for ensuring that mankind enters a new phase of development in conditions of peace and cooperation.

The direct threat of nuclear war is lessening. The implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles attest to the beginning of the process of the physical destruction of nuclear arms. Military confrontation in Europe, the most dangerous in the world, is diminishing. More favorable conditions than ever before—conditions for a reduction in conventional armed forces in Europe, the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, and confidence-building on the continent—are emerging. The idea of building a common European home is winning over new supporters.

But there are no grounds for complacency. The trend toward disarmament has still not become irreversible. The aspiration for dialogue and cooperation has still not been firmly embedded in the practice of international relations. Bellicose circles in the United States and certain other NATO states are continuing to increase production of the latest types of arms.

The imperative of the time is particularly obvious: The proper lessons must be derived from the last world war. All countries and all peace-loving and realistically-minded forces are required to increase their vigorous actions aimed at further relaxing international tension. The door to a nuclear-free and nonviolent world must be opened wide to mankind.

Economic

Nuclear Energy Minister on Civil Use Conversion

LD0609161589 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The Soviet economy is facing new tasks in switching defence industries over to civil production, Soviet Nuclear Energy and Industry Minister Vitaliy Konovalov told TASS today.

Commenting on the industry's prospects for the future, the minister said that although it is still defence-oriented, it will be increasing its production for civil purposes.

The industry is already using its mineral resources processing facilities to produce fertiliser and animal feed additives snapped up in the Soviet Union and competitive on the world market. Earnings from fertiliser sales in Western Europe provided the currency to buy a large Italian plant to make tooth-paste from Soviet ingredients.

Two sanitary equipment plants are currently being built, each with a capacity to furnish 700,000 flats a year.

The industry's hard currency earnings will now be used for civil purposes, to produce up-to-date equipment for the milk industry. Milk production is expected to increase nearly five-fold.

The industry is also preparing to produce electronics materials, integrated circuits and computers.

The ministry's enterprises plan to boost the production of stable and radioactive isotopes, which are now being widely used in many Soviet industries.

Deputy Trade Minister Outlines Import Decisions

18250193 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 35, 2-8 Sep 89 pp 4-5

[Report on interview with S. Sarukhanov, USSR deputy minister of trade, by I. Morzharetto; date, place, and occasion unspecified: "The Deficit—A Political Concept"]

[Text] *Yes, many of our readers raise the question in this and only this way in their letters. They link the successes of perestroyka with the availability of goods on the shelves of the stores. And they, unfortunately, have not been a pretty sight of late. Many readers and economists along with them are suggesting emergency purchases of deficit goods abroad. And at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies several billion additional rubles were allotted for these purposes. We asked S. Sarukhanov, USSR deputy minister of trade, to discuss what has already been purchased and what will be purchased abroad.*

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] At the beginning of this year you told an ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent that another R5 billion had been added to the R32.1 billion that had been previously planned for purchasing goods abroad. How much of the overall amount has been spent?

[Sarukhanov] There is apparently some mistake here. We are speaking about purchasing goods in retail prices and not in hard currency. Actually I was speaking about the fact that the government was looking for the possibility of allotting funds for purchasing goods worth a total of R5 billion in retail prices.

Moreover, in July of this year, under instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers, we allotted funds for importing an additional R6.6 billion worth of goods in retail prices.

Thus the overall value of import purchases was more than R43 billion of which about R30 billion went for foodstuffs. All this money has basically been spent.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What specifically was purchased abroad—consumer goods, food, furniture, and so forth? How much of this has already reached the stores and how much has already been sold?

[Sarukhanov] Based on the population's demand and also the capabilities of domestic industry, contracts were concluded with various foreign firms for the delivery to the USSR from the account for freely convertible currency 67,000 tons of tea, 20,000 tons of children's dairy mixtures, 22,000 tons of coffee beans, and 15,000 tons of instant coffee. Large contracts were concluded for detergent—220,000 tons, soap—120,000 tons, razor blades—1.5 billion, shaving cream—40 million tubes, tooth paste—about 30,000 tons, tights—170 million pair (of which 50 million are for children), and also winter leather footwear—about 30 million pair.

They have already sent more than R300 million (in retail prices) worth of footwear, sewn items—140 million, knitted items—25 million, and detergents and soap—R40 million worth. A total of more than R1 billion worth of goods have been purchased in addition to what was previously planned. The most intensive deliveries of these goods will come in September-November of this year.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What specifically determines the quantity of various purchases and does the Ministry of Trade take the needs of the market into account or does it proceed only from the availability of hard currency?

[Sarukhanov] When determining the assortment of goods to be imported the USSR Ministry of Trade proceeds from the market demand for various goods. But, of course, it is linked to the volume of funds allotted for this.

Proposals for importing goods are prepared by specialists of our ministry in conjunction with the trade ministries of the union republics. Concrete articles and kinds of goods are determined when the foreign firms submit samples. Then an order is issued and a list of specifications is signed, which is an indispensable appendix to the contract.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Why now, when we do not have enough of the most ordinary things, are we purchasing not only high-demand items but also those we can quite well do without—for example, French electric bread knives?

[Sarukhanov] I must say that French electric bread knives were not purchased through the USSR Ministry of Trade.

Import purchases are now made with available funds or through commodity exchange by all union republics that have their own foreign trade organizations, Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumer Societies], and Vneshposyltorg [All-Union Association for Foreign Parcels of the USSR Ministry of Trade]. As I just said, everything we have already purchased are necessities.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How are the imported goods distributed throughout the country? Who specifically determines how much of what needs to be delivered to which region? Does the Ministry of Trade supervise the receipt of goods in the local areas? There are many complaints that the imported goods do not reach the workers because they are bought up by insiders, the management, and so forth.

[Sarukhanov] Imported goods are distributed throughout the country within the framework of the export-import plan of the USSR Ministry of Trade and, taking into account all the additional purchases, through the trade ministries of the union republics. The latter, in turn, determine the shares of the deliveries of imports between state trade and consumers' cooperative organizations. When imported goods are distributed by trade ministries of the union republics, preference is given to large industrial centers.

Supervision of the sale of imported goods and the prevention of various kinds of abuses should be handled by the local authorities, worker control, and social organizations.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Have deliveries of imported goods to the Kuzbass, Donbass, and Vorkuta now been increased in order to satisfy the demands of the miners? At whose expense were they increased, who has been "impoverished" in this case?

[Sarukhanov] Yes, they have been increased. But I must say at the outset that nobody has been "impoverished," for targeted deliveries to these regions will be provided mainly through additional purchases of imported goods. This pertains to both food and nonfood products.

Imported goods will also be delivered to all the union republics and oblasts both through planned receipts and through additional purchases.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How do you feel about trade with certificates, i.e. only with local residents, which is currently being practiced in the Baltic republics? Could this kind of trade perhaps be introduced in other regions—for example, Moscow?

[Sarukhanov] Because of the aggravated situation in the consumer market and the growth of the commodity deficit in the country, various forms of their distribution have appeared. In particular, by decisions of the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, to whom existing legislation has granted the right to manage trade on their territories, in many regions of the country high-demand items are now being sold through such a form as traveling trade, which is organized directly at the enterprises. These high-demand items are also sold through trade with coupons, invitations, or certificates in stores, as is done in the Baltic countries. In Moscow, for example, this year 13-15 percent of the high-demand goods have been sold through traveling trade.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Who forms "preferential" trade for war veterans, disabled persons, and so forth, and according to what principle? In our mail we receive many letters on this subject. The readers are saying, for example, that imported high-heeled shoes or boots, young people's sneakers, and so forth are being sold to disabled persons.

[Sarukhanov] The assortment of goods and the norm for their delivery for various categories of the population who have privileges are not determined by trade, but by the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies on the basis of local conditions and concrete possibilities.

Scientific

Tass Reports Launching of 'Resurs-F' Satellite

LD0709071289 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The Soviet Union launched another satellite into orbit which blasted into space atop the Soyuz booster rocket on Wednesday.

The Resurs-F (Resource) satellite is equipped to conduct widescale multi-zone and spectre-zone photography and continue the research of earth's natural resources for Soviet economy and international cooperation.

The satellite was launched into orbit with the following parameters:

—initial orbital period: 88.7 minutes,
—maximum distance from the earth's surface in the apogee: 261 kilometers,
—minimum distance from the surface in the perigee: 189 kilometers,
—inclination of the orbit: 82.3 degrees.

The satellite's equipment is functioning normally.

Information from the Resurs-F is forwarded for analysis to the State Research and Industrial Center, Priroda (nature), of the Soviet Department of Geodesy and Cartography under the Soviet Council of Ministers.

Under a commercial agreement, Resurs-F is also carrying West German equipment for bio-technological experiments in low-gravity conditions.